Edina/Athena

EDINA ATHENA

1821 2021

THE GREEK REVOLUTION & THE ATHENS OF THE NORTH

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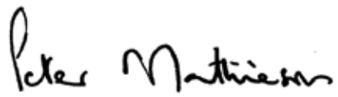
PRINCIPAL'S FOREWORD

In this 200th anniversary year of the Greek Revolution, we are delighted to host an exhibition that so intricately connects the history and culture of Greece with those of Scotland, Edinburgh and indeed this University. Ancient Greek was part of the University's curriculum from its foundation in 1583, with a chair created in the reforms of 1708. Henry Raeburn's portrait of Andrew Dalzel, its 6th incumbent who makes a fleeting appearance in the exhibition, still adorns the walls of Old College.

Often it was their admiration for the 'classical' civilisation of Greek antiquity that prompted young Scots to join the Revolution when it erupted in 1821. Fuelled by ideas of the Enlightenment, they left the 'Modern Athens' to join the fight in the homeland of the ancient Athenians. Some, such as George Finlay (an Edinburgh Law graduate turned authoritative historian of the Revolution), dedicated the rest of their lives to the newly founded Greek state. Others, such as Thomas M'Crie the Elder (another Edinburgh graduate), stayed behind in Britain but fervently supported the cause of the Revolution from home. Yet others were inspired by the revolutionary ideas their compatriots brought back, not least regarding the pronunciation of Greek: our remarkable 8th Professor of Greek, John Stuart Blackie, taught Ancient Greek as a living language. All three, Finlay, M'Crie and Blackie, play a major role in this exhibition; at the same time, while fascinating in their own right, their lives and deeds open a larger window onto the Age of Revolution, Enlightenment and Empire in which the events in both early nineteenth-century Greece and Scotland unfolded. The Enlightenment, with its many prominent Scottish thinkers, and the American and, especially, French Revolutions offered ideas of freedom, independence and (radical) republicanism. From these ideas the new Greek state eventually emerged in the 1820s – a pioneering nation state in a Europe (and world) still largely dominated by empires – while back in Edinburgh, Scotland's own role in the British imperial project was a matter of debate.

'Edina/Athena' offers a splendid opportunity to welcome back the public to the University's Exhibition Gallery after the grim past year-and-a-half. The University is immensely grateful to the A. G. Leventis Foundation, and in particular to alumnus and University Benefactor Mr George David, whose exceptional generosity has made this event possible.



Professor Peter Mathieson
Principal and Vice-Chancellor, The University of Edinburgh

SPONSOR'S FOREWORD

Several years ago, walking by Dunkeld Cathedral with my wife and two friends from Athens, we came across a celebration linked to the Murray family – the family that was to lose a young man of 25, far from home, in the small Peloponnesian town of Gastouni, fighting a war that would seem foreign to this particular corner of Scotland … But the story of Lord Charles Murray, son of the 4th Duke of Atholl, is only one of the many threads that bind the legacy of Scottish Philhellenism to Greece, and to the struggles of her people for liberty and self-governance. Intended to mark 200 years since the start of the Greek War of Independence, this exhibition is a tribute to these bonds that connect Greece and Scotland, Athens and 'Athens of the North'.

In this spirit, the present exhibition goes beyond the celebration of a milestone anniversary. It offers a steppingstone to a broader discussion that allows us to see the Greek Revolution, its ideas and ideals, its context and aftermath, through a different perspective. By symbolically and metaphorically setting 'Edina' alongside 'Athena', it addresses questions that touch upon Edinburgh's own perception of itself. It delves into issues that are philosophical and socio-political as much as geographical and conceptual. It is about self-determination, and the ideals of the Enlightenment as much as it is about Philhellenism and a celebration of (various definitions of) the Greek spirit. It offers the opportunity to rethink what we think we know about the associations between Greece and Scotland, in an era of fluidity and change.

On behalf of the Trustees of the A. G. Leventis Foundation, I would like to extend our heartfelt thanks to all those who have worked hard to make this possible. Particular thanks are owed to the Principal of the University of Edinburgh, Professor Peter Mathieson, for warmly embracing this initiative, and to the School of History, Classics and Archaeology as well as the Centre for Research Collections for undertaking the co-production of the exhibition and its accompanying catalogue. Both together are a testament to their enthusiasm for this largely unexplored subject, but also to their perseverance in completing a challenging project amidst a pandemic. The excellent result is proof of values that would have been equally relevant, and equally appreciated, in 1821: resilience in the face of adversity, and faith in better days ahead.

George A. David
Trustee, The A. G. Leventis Foundation

PRELUDE
EDINA AND ATHENA

On Tuesday 27 August, 1822, at exactly 2 o'clock in the afternoon, a solemn procession left Parliament Square and, via the North and Regent Bridges (the latter only recently opened), made its way up Calton Hill past crowds of 'well-dressed people'. Especially 'the multitude assembled on Calton Hill was prodigious. Every spot on the side of the hill … was occupied', Robert Mudie notes in his *Historical Account of His Majesty's Visit to Scotland* (1822; p. 257). Their purpose was to lay the foundation stone for a National Monument commemorating the casualties of the recent Napoleonic Wars. After much debate, the official Committee for the National Monument, constituted in 1819, had decided that this monument should 'restore' – i.e., construct an ideal replica of – the Athenian Parthenon, yet without any copies of its famous sculptures. The very Lord Elgin who had moved these sculptures from Athens to Britain a mere two decades earlier (and recently been forced to sell these prestigious objects to the British Museum) (Nos. 62–64), happened to be a leading member of the committee, and walked in the procession.

This auspicious event purposely coincided with King George IV's celebrated visit to Edinburgh, the first by a reigning monarch since 1651. While His Majesty was 'graciously pleased to patronize the great national undertaking' (Mudie, p. 258), he nevertheless preferred to lunch at Melville Castle just to the south of Edinburgh, in the company of Sir Walter Scott among others, rather than attend in person (probably to avoid requests for money).

Once the procession had arrived at its destination, its leader, the Duke of Hamilton, addressed those assembled. He praised this

> *memorable day, in which we are engaged in laying the foundation of an edifice, similar to one raised at Athens in the pure age of Grecian refinement. … Worthy is it of Scotsmen to imitate such a model. The sons of Caledonia, warlike in themselves, have ever possessed the patriotic valour of the ancient Greeks. Having rivalled them in the field, let them now emulate their eminence in the arts; and let this monument … be worthy to become the model of Scottish taste.* (Mudie, p. 265)

While the duke's address held up the ancient Greeks as a model for contemporary Scots, some among his audience may well have been aware of the rumours that a mere two months earlier, on 9th June, in faraway Athens, Greek revolutionary forces had ousted the Ottoman garrison from the original Acropolis after a long siege. Many more must have been aware that the year before, in late winter and early spring 1821, southern Greece and some of the islands had risen in revolution against Ottoman rule. Yet so busy was the duke to uphold the *ancient* Athenians as an example for modern Scottish valour and eminence that even when His Grace noted, 'Long has that Grecian edifice [the Parthenon] been the object of universal admiration, and, until now, had survived the vicissitudes of fortune, and arrested even the unhallowed hands of Barbarian conquerors' (ibid.), he chose not to mention recent events in Greece.

EDINA AND ATHENA

On this official occasion the admiration for all matters ancient, which had only grown during the century of the Enlightenment, left no room for reference to the bloody struggle that was unfolding all across Greece. This struggle would, in fact, continue for the best part of a decade after the ceremony on Calton Hill, and only in 1833 would the Ottomans finally yield the Athenian Acropolis for the last time, having retaken it from the revolutionaries in 1827. The development of the National Monument had come to a halt in 1828, abandoned as the twelve austere Doric columns visible today; the Greek Revolution on the other hand, after much bloodshed, was crowned with success.

The same admiration for ancient Greek valour that was on display on Calton Hill informed the Revolution itself. A month before the rebellion erupted in southern Greece, in February 1821, the nobleman Alexandros Ypsilantis had crossed with a small band of followers from Russia into Ottoman Moldavia. There, he built up the support of local Christians for Greek independence. On 7 March 1821, he issued a proclamation from his camp at Iași in today's Romania, encouraging Greeks and western Europeans alike to join with the Revolution. A translation was printed in the Edinburgh newspaper, the *Scotsman*, on 21 April:

> *The civilized people of Europe are busy laying the foundations of their own happiness, and, full of gratitude for the benefits they received from our ancestors, desire the liberty of Greece. … Let us recollect, brave and generous Greeks, the liberty of the classic land of Greece; the battles of Marathon and Thermopylae; let us combat upon the tombs of our ancestors, who, to leave us free, fought and died. … To arms, then, my friends, your Country calls you.* (p. 121)

Ypsilantis' expedition was soon defeated, but the language of his declaration endured. The ideology of the Greek Revolution was inseparable from the ideal of ancient Greece, and ancient Athens in particular, as a land of heroes and philosophers. Although there had never been a Greek nation state before, at home and abroad the Revolution was imagined as a revival of a glorious past.

The lure of this powerful message drew into the conflict foreign volunteers known as philhellenes or 'lovers of Greece'. The philhellenic movement stretched across Europe and North America, and Scotland was no exception. The first two historians to write authoritative accounts of the Revolution in English, based in part on their own experiences, were both Scots: Thomas Gordon of Cairness and Buthlaw (Nos. 13 & 14, 55 & 56) and George Finlay (Nos. 15 & 16, 51–54); their detailed narratives of events in Greece feature throughout this exhibition.

Gordon's description of contemporary Athens emphasizes the stark contrast with the Edinburgh of the time. The latter had been of late adorned with a growing array of distinguished Greek Revival architecture, designed by the likes of William Burn, Thomas Hamilton and William Playfair, and had rapidly acquired the nickname of 'Modern Athens' or 'Athens of the North'. Of the real Athens, he wrote:

> *The modern town was surrounded by a thin stone wall … in many places coinciding with the old ramparts, whose circuit was, however, considerably greater. It filled but a moderate portion of the ground covered by ancient Athens, for, besides the difference in circuit, only the parts to the east, north and north-west had latterly been built upon. The inhabitants hardly amounted to 10,000, one-fifth of whom were supposed to be Mahommedans. The Acropolis, crowned by the most splendid monuments of antiquity, is an oblong, isolated, and precipitous rock, about 1000 feet in length and 150 in height, defended by a massive wall …* (*History*, I.172–3)

Yet even under such diminished circumstances Gordon conceded that Athens, 'distinguished for urbanity, taste, and knowledge, enjoyed a degree of tranquility and civilisation unusual in the Ottoman states' (p. 173): a statement that reflects as much admiration for ancient Athens as anti-Ottoman prejudices current at the time. The town's ideological significance far outweighed its material importance: according to Finlay, the taking of Athens and its Acropolis by the Greeks 'was an event of great moral and military importance to the Greek cause at this moment. The name of Athens magnified the success throughout the whole civilized world' (*Hist. Revol.*, I.282–3).

Gordon and Finlay were joined by many other Scottish philhellenes who, often fuelled by their admiration for the ancients but moved by the cause of the contemporary Greeks, travelled to Hellas in order to support the Revolution. In addition to the appreciation for classical Greece, a different yet also strong motivation lay in Protestant (often dissenting Presbyterian) sympathies towards Greek Orthodoxy that had their roots in the period of the Reformation and shared anti-Catholic sentiments. Some of these people went to fight, others to teach. Many philhellenes, the poet Lord Byron (Nos. 26–31) and Lord Charles Murray, the youngest son of the 4th Duke of Atholl, prominent among them, lost their lives. Others never made the journey to Greece but supported the cause back in their home country: Thomas M'Crie the Elder's (No. 49) speech in Edinburgh in August 1822, for example, was the first public effort in all of Britain to raise support for the Greek cause. A final group, mostly soldiers in search of employment after the end of the wars against Napoleon, offered their swords for hire, as it were; prominent among this group was Lord Thomas Cochrane, the daring but temporarily disgraced admiral and celebrity. Each in their own way contributed to the successful outcome of the Revolution.

This 200th-anniversary exhibition, 'Edina/Athena: The Greek Revolution and the Athens of the North, 1821–2021', explores the synchronicity of the events of the Greek War of Independence and contemporary discourses celebrating the 'ancient Grecians' that circulated in late-Enlightenment Edinburgh. At first glance these often appear disconnected, as in the Duke of Hamilton's address on Calton Hill; but figures such as Gordon and Finlay, Byron and Murray, M'Crie and Cochrane – indeed, many more than could be introduced in detail in this exhibition – closely connect these two stories.

The exhibition explores such connections and disjunctions and traces the stories of Edina and Athena across four thematic sections. Following this prelude juxtaposing the key events of 1822 in Edinburgh and Athens (No. 1), it explores how the Scottish capital became known as the 'Athens of the North' or 'Modern Athens' (Nos. 2–12). Next, it turns to events in Greece in order to offer an outline of the events of the Revolution, with Gordon's and Finlay's histories as key witnesses (Nos. 13–46), before placing these two historians in the wider context of the Scottish philhellenic movement, both at home and in Greece (Nos. 47–57). The fourth and final section explores the deep background to Scottish philhellenism (and its accompanying prejudices) by shedding light on wider cultural and intellectual contexts (Nos. 58–75); particular episodes include the Earl of Elgin's controversial decision to remove the Parthenon ('Elgin') Marbles from their original context and transfer them to Britain, as well as classical education in 18th- and early 19th-century Edinburgh. The section closes with the relief of 'Edina' reflecting the glory of Athena from the statue of William Henry Playfair (2016) by the Queen's Sculptor in Ordinary in Scotland, Dr Sandy Stoddart, thus bringing the exhibition full circle to the question of Edinburgh's 'Athenian' identity. Finally, a contemporary artwork by Karen Cunningham has been commissioned to complement these exhibits: her two-part work 'Parataxis' highlights the role of female figures in the contexts explored by the exhibition.

There has never been a more important time to bring these two stories together – the stories of Edinburgh and Athens during those epoch-making decades of the early nineteenth century – than now, in this bicentenary year of the Greek Revolution, and as peoples around the world today confront the complex heritages of nationalism, imperialism, and the classical tradition. At the same time, this exhibition can offer no more than a first step into a fascinating aspect of Greek and Scottish history; we very much hope that it will inspire further exploration of these manifold and intricate connections.

N.G. & A.G.

Pages 10–11
1.
Illustrations of Events in the Greek War of Independence: 10. First Battle of Athens
About 1836–9
Dimitrios Zographos (active early 19th century), attributed to Panagiotis Zographos
Bodycolour
Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2021, RCIN 923707

Dimitrios Zographos (whose last name literally translates as 'Painter') created a series of 24 illustrations under the guidance of the revolutionary leader General Ioannis Makriyannis (1797–1864). The examples on display in this exhibition were gifted by Makriyannis to the British Foreign Office and thence to Queen Victoria in 1839 on behalf of the Greek people; the fate of the contemporary sets produced for the other 'protecting powers', Russia and France, is unknown. The tenth illustration of the series shows the second siege of the Acropolis which began in November 1821 and lasted until the Ottomans surrendered in June 1822.

The Greeks had previously invested the city of Athens in April 1821, to which the Ottomans responded with violent reprisals and hostage-taking. In June 1821, forces under the Ottoman-Albanian commander Omer Vrioni temporarily relieved the siege, the Greeks having withdrawn to the islands of Aigina and Salamis. Revolutionary successes prompted the relief force to depart three months later; the Ottoman inhabitants, with perhaps 180 arms-bearers among a group of 1150, barricaded themselves in the Acropolis and a fresh siege began. Eventually, lack of drinking water forced the defenders to surrender on 9th June 1822: as the historian Thomas Gordon remarked, 'The principal defect of this fortress, and which has more than once occasioned its surrender, is a scarcity of water, its cisterns not sufficing for a long siege' (*History*, I.173), to which George Finlay added that the Ottomans 'did not clean out their cisterns during the winter' and lost 'the only good well they possessed' (*Hist. Revol.*, I.347). Most Ottomans were massacred by the revolutionaries despite initial promises of safety; a few escaped with the help of the Austrian and French consuls resident in the city.

In Zographos's colourful image, the Greek revolutionaries are seen mounting ladders to assault the Acropolis. In the foreground, women are depicted tending to the wounds of injured warriors, thus adding an immediate humanity to the battle scene. In addition to the Acropolis, Makriyannis selected two famous ancient monuments to symbolize the city: the Gate of Hadrian and the Temple of Olympian Zeus.

'GILDED BY THE RAYS OF AN ATHENIAN SUN': AULD REEKIE INTO ATHENS OF THE NORTH

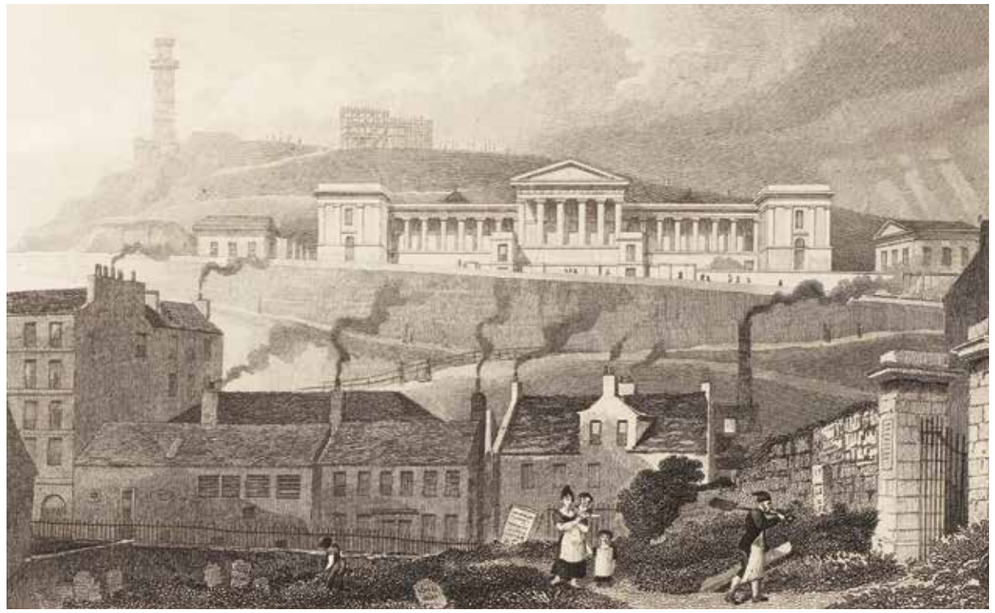
In 1828, John Brown Patterson, a precocious classicist and recent graduate of the University of Edinburgh, published the essay that had won him a prestigious prize the previous year: *On the National Character of the Athenians*. For a brilliant young scholar working in Edinburgh at this particular time, parallels with another place and another age were obvious. 'Athens', Patterson wrote, 'has become a sort of proverb to the nations, expressive of all genius and all beauty… A modern city, if distinguished by beauty of situation, by elegance of structure, or by literary refinement, straightway assumes the title of the Modern Athens.'

In the early nineteenth century, indeed, Edinburgh – long and affectionately known as 'Auld Reekie' – had come to be widely regarded as *the* Modern Athens, or the Athens of the North (the first epithet seems to have chronological priority). Many people, calling themselves 'Modern Athenians', wanted to transform one into the other. At exactly the moment Patterson was writing, twelve flawless Doric columns, on their massive stylobate and with their entablature, were being erected on Calton Hill as the first stage in the construction of the hugely ambitious but ill-conceived project to 'restore' (as the phrase was) the Parthenon 'in facsimile' on the 'Acropolis' of Modern Athens.

The Athenian parallel had arisen, first, because the Edinburgh of the day, basking in the radiating afterglow of its eighteenth-century Enlightenment blaze, was widely perceived by its own literati still to be a place of exceptional intellectual brilliance. That complacent, self-congratulatory view was widely mocked, both from within and without. Yet it is undoubtedly the case that many in Edinburgh *felt* Athenian: that their city was, in cerebral terms, a new Athens, a world city of the mind. But Edinburgh had a double claim to be regarded as 'Athenian'. In topographical terms there also were distinct similarities, although when Calton Hill came to be regarded as the Acropolis of Modern Athens it actually left the city with two such sites, for the Castle Rock was, by any judgement, the proper acropolis of Edinburgh. When, in the later 1810s and 1820s, Edinburgh came to acquire a series of superb buildings in the archaeologically-inspired Greek Revival style, the physical similarities were yet further enhanced. It is arguable that these structures arose in Edinburgh because a place that looked rather like Athens – in its landscape, relationship to the sea, coast and surrounding hills – called for the material enhancement that neo-Greek architecture afforded. If it felt Greek, it needed to look Greek: an Athens of the mind should also be an Athens of stone. John Patterson had, at an even younger age, provided the copious translations of the classical texts that had added intellectual weight to the exhibitions and publications of views of Greece by the artist Hugh William ('Grecian') Williams. Those images had, themselves, done much to fix the idea of similarity between Athens and Edinburgh (and indeed between Scotland and Greece in general) in the national psyche.

The questions of *when, why, how* and *with what consequences* – for good or ill – Auld Reekie turned itself into Modern Athens pose a fascinating problem, or a series of interrelated problems, for the historian of Scottish culture.

I.G.B.



2.

2.
***Modern Athens! Displayed in a Series of Views, or, Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1829)**
Thomas Hosmer Shepherd (1793–1864)
and John Britton (1771–1857)
The University of Edinburgh, SD 80

The similarity of the Calton Hill to the romantic eminence of the Acropolis of Athens, has caused it to be chosen for the site of a National Monument, the foundation-stone of which was laid during his Majesty's [George IV] visit to Edinburgh on 27th of August, 1822; the Parthenon of Athens having been adopted as a model. (p. 10)

This engraving shows Calton Hill during its transformation into an Athenian-like acropolis. The National Monument, a memorial to Scots who died in the Napoleonic Wars (1803–15), lies under scaffolding in the distance. The twelve Doric columns visible today are all that was ever completed of the monument. In front of it, Thomas Hamilton's New Royal High School gleams in the sun.

By the time of this event, rumours were circulating in Edinburgh's newspapers that the Acropolis of Athens, home to the original Parthenon, had surrendered to the Greek revolutionaries.

3.

3.
***Modern Athenians: Being Portraits of Eminent Personages in the Metropolis of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1882)**
Benjamin William Crombie (1803–47), edited
by William Scott Douglas (1815–83)
The University of Edinburgh, Corson
F.1.a.CROM.1

Crombie's caricatures of 'Modern Athenians', later edited and published by Douglas, are characteristic of the early 19th century. This illustration shows the architects James Gillespie Graham (1776–1855) and Thomas Hamilton (1784–1858). Hamilton worked in the Greek Revival style. The New Royal High School (see No. 2) and the Burns Monument, both on Calton Hill, are among his works. Graham worked in both the Greek Revival and the medieval revivalist Scots Baronial styles.

4.
***The Modern Athens: A Dissection and Demonstration of Men and Things in the Scotch Capital* (London, 1825)**
Robert Mudie (1777–1842)
The University of Edinburgh, S.B. .9(41445) Mud

Edinburgh was very much like Athens,—it was, in fact, the Modern Athens, or the Athens Restored; the Calton Hill was a far finer thing than the Acropolis; the free-stone of Craigleith excelled in beauty and duration the marble of Pentelicus; the Frith [sic] of Forth outstretched and outshone the Egean or the Hellespont; the Kingdom of Fife beat beyond all comparison Ionia and the Troad; Ida and Athos were mere mole-hills compared with North Berwick Law and the Lomonds; Plataea and Marathon had nothing in them at all comparable with Pinkie and Preston Pans … (pp. 128–9)

Angus-born Robert Mudie's satirical description emphasizes how overstretched many of the comparisons between Edinburgh and Athens seemed to some contemporaries. (It is notable that he also wrote a serious account of George IV's visit to the city in 1822, quoted in the Prelude.) One of these contemporaries was George Sibbald, who travelled in Greece and the Middle East as an assistant naval surgeon in HMS *Myrmidon* (1816–18). Sometime after 1823, he wrote an imaginative description of Athens as a precise mirror image of his home city of Edinburgh:

The Firth of Forth corresponds well with the Aegean sea, the hills of Fife with the hills of Peloponnesus, while the harbour of Leith will represent the Piraeus or harbour of Athens, from which it is distant between 3 or 4 miles. Inchkeith, if supposed to be five or six times farther distant, will point out the situation of the island Aegina, which was about 20 miles in circumference & 18 from the Piraeus. Without the walls of Athens is the Temple of Theseus, once king of Athens, corresponding in its situation to the Palace of Holyroodhouse, and the ruins of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, corresponding in like manner to the Register House; while Mount Anchesmos is remarkably similar in situation & appearance to the Castle-hill. The Water of Leith also may bear some resemblance to the river Ilissus, only this was nearer the Acropolis than that is to the Calton-hill. And if we are not censured for having already carried this resemblance too far, we may mention that, to the north-west of Athens are two rocky insulated hills, the larger of which is called the Colonus Hippius or the Equestrian Hill, & is distant from the other about 200 yards; & recollecting to make the same change as before, north-west will become north-east, & then these hills will be strikingly contrasted by Arthur's Seat & Salisbury Craigs. (Ed. Brown, 'Edinburgh as Athens', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* ns 15 [2019], p. 8)

As Iain Gordon Brown has recently shown, Sibbald closely followed the debate about the National Monument, which had filled the pages of the periodical press since 1819; while finishing his own manuscript he drew on specialist literature such as Edward Dodwell's *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the years 1801, 1805 and 1806* (1819), Robert Richardson's *Travels Along the Mediterranean and Parts Adjacent* (1822), or William Rae Wilson's *Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land* (1823).

Three artists exerted strong influence on the comparison of Athens with Edinburgh. Hugh 'Grecian' William Williams (1773–1829) toured Italy and Greece in 1816–18, spending several weeks in Athens in spring 1817. James Skene of Rubislaw (1775–1864) spent the years 1838–45 in Greece. He was a friend of Sir Walter Scott and provided illustrations for the author's novels. Thomas Hosmer Shepherd (1793–1864) worked on cityscapes and landscapes. His *Modern Athens!* (1829: see No. 2) depicted Edinburgh's fashionable classicizing buildings.

5.
Athens from the Southwest
About 1818–22
Watercolour and brown ink on paper
Hugh William Williams (1773–1829)
Courtesy of the RISD Museum, Providence, RI

6.
Edinburgh from Arthur's Seat
1826
Engraving
William Miller (1796–1882), after Hugh William Williams (1773–1829)
National Galleries of Scotland

Page 18
7.
View of the Plain of Athens, Greece
1841
Graphite, pen and brown ink and watercolour on paper
James Skene (1775–1864)

5.

6.

7.

8.

8.
Edinburgh from Craigleith
Probably 1828
Watercolour over pencil on paper
© Thomas Hosmer Shepherd (1793–1864)
National Galleries of Scotland

9.
***Travels in Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands: In a Series of Letters, Descriptive of Manners, Scenery, and the Fine Arts*, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1820)**
Hugh William Williams (1773–1829)
The University of Edinburgh, S.B. .91(4508) Wil.

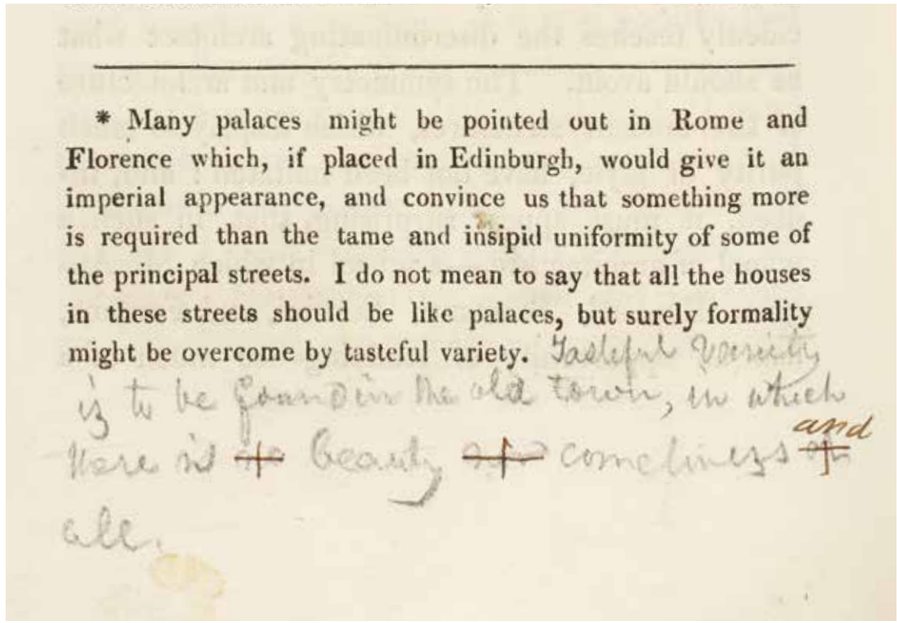
Surely formality might be overcome by tasteful variety. (p. 294)

Williams's complaint that Edinburgh's architecture was unvaried compared with that of Rome or Florence was refuted by one reader. The annotation reads: 'Tasteful variety is to be found in the Old Town, in which there is no beauty nor comeliness at all.' A second person, more favourable towards the Old Town, has then crossed out the negatives.

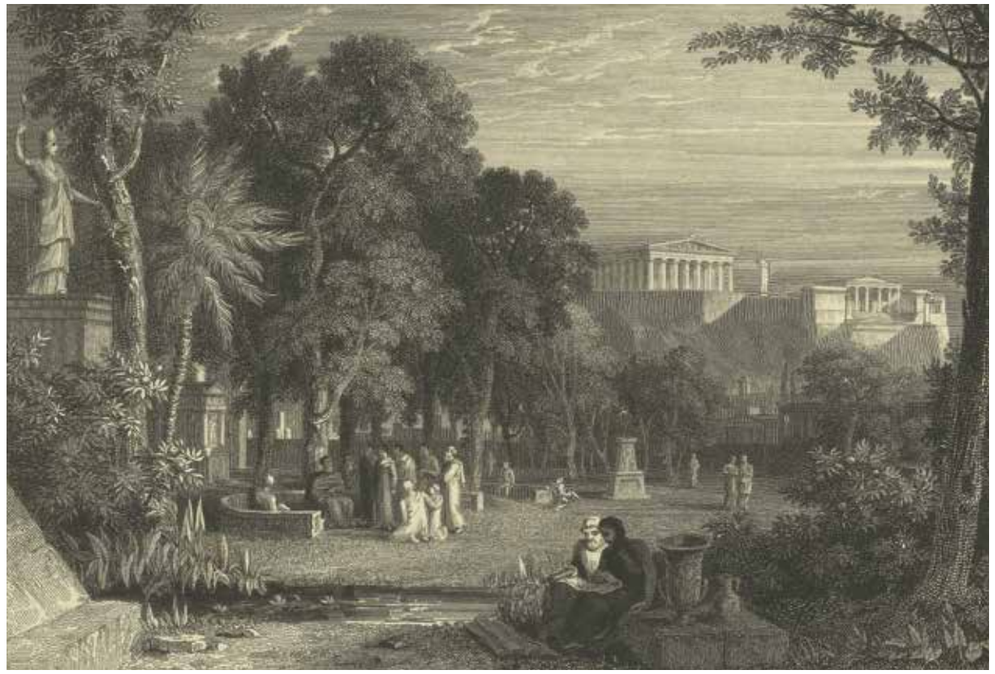
Page 20
10.
Select Views in Greece, Vol. 1 (London & Edinburgh, 1829)
Hugh William Williams (1773–1829)
Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland, C.Fras.552

This is a romanticized reconstruction of Athens's Academic Grove, where the renowned ancient philosopher Plato taught. James Skene was critical of Williams's tendency to alter real views to reflect his preferred composition. Williams's viewers, however, would have been more interested in the ideal of ancient Greece than in the realities of the modern land he visited in 1817.

9.



* Many palaces might be pointed out in Rome and Florence which, if placed in Edinburgh, would give it an imperial appearance, and convince us that something more is required than the tame and insipid uniformity of some of the principal streets. I do not mean to say that all the houses in these streets should be like palaces, but surely formality might be overcome by tasteful variety. Tasteful variety is to be found in the old town, in which there is ~~no~~ beauty ~~nor~~ comeliness and ~~no~~ all.



10.

11.
The Monument of Professor Stewart, Elevation
1831
William Henry Playfair (1790–1857)
The University of Edinburgh, 2415

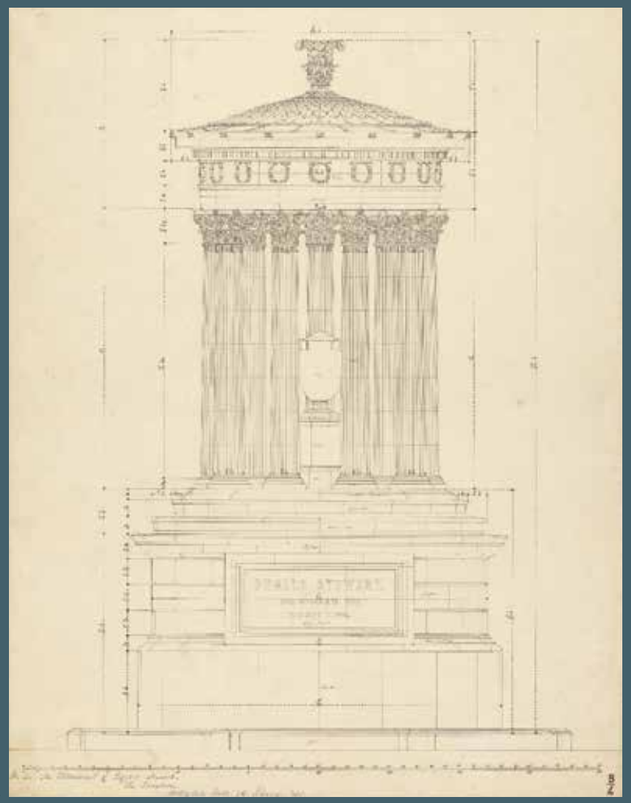
This is a beautifully intricate architect's drawing of one of Edinburgh's most iconic structures: the Monument of Dugald Stewart, designed by Edinburgh's most famous Greek Revival architect, Playfair. Professor Stewart (1753–1828) was an influential philosopher. The monument was based on the ancient Choragic Monument of Lysicrates in Athens, shown at No. 40 as it was in the 1850s. Playfair also worked with Charles Robert Cockerell on the ill-fated National Monument (see No. 74).

12.
Officer Training Corps Cap Badge, Edinburgh Academy (about 1930s)
Private Collection

This Greek Revivalist badge belongs to a school built in the Greek Revival style, William Burn's Edinburgh Academy. It opened in 1824.

Exteriorily it is a handsome structure, illustrated by a beautiful portico, supported by Grecian Doric columns ... (Britton and Shepherd, *Modern Athens!*, p. 76)

The badge bears the following Greek motto, which also appears above the Academy's Doric portico: Ἡ παιδεία καὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς μήτηρ, meaning 'Education is the mother of both wisdom and virtue'.



11.

12.

THE GREEK REVOLUTION

The Greek Revolution, also known as the Greek War of Independence, that began in March 1821, belongs to the series of national-liberal movements that began with the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, continued with the French Revolution of 1789, and saw the liberation of the South American republics from Spanish and Portuguese rule in the 1810s and 1820s. The Greek Revolution was the first of these movements to succeed in the Old World.

At its simplest it was a struggle in one corner of Europe for the self-determination of a subject people. These were Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians who lived not only in today's Greece but in communities spread all over the Balkans and parts of Anatolia, and who for varying numbers of centuries had been subjected by conquest to the rule of the Islamic empire of the Ottoman Turks. As education and commerce spread through these communities in the 18th century, the ideas of the European Enlightenment found a lively echo in many books written in Greek that circulated through this subject population. In the wake of the revolutions in America and France, ideas of national self-determination for the Greek subjects of the empire began to gain ground.

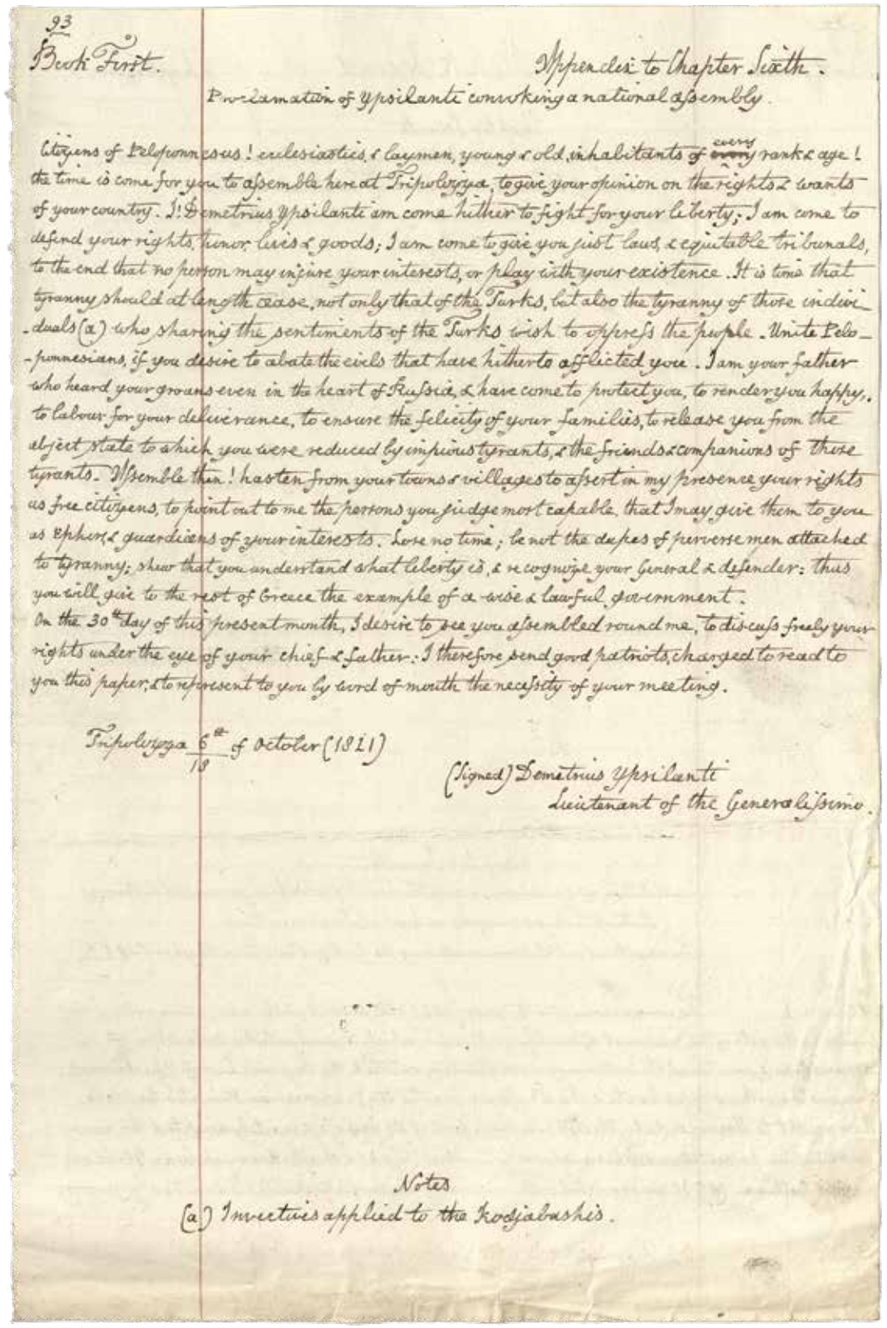
In Europe and America, the Greek Revival in public architecture was at its height during the first decades of the nineteenth century – not least in Edinburgh, as this exhibition shows. More than ever before, painters, architects, historians, poets, and political thinkers in Britain, continental Europe and the United States were drawing inspiration from classical Greece, and particularly from the achievements of Athens in the fifth century BC. This was the reason that volunteers from many countries, including Scotland, were inspired to take up arms alongside the Greeks, as described in the next introductory essay (below, pp. 50–1). Among them was Lord Byron, who described himself as 'half a Scot by birth, and bred a whole one'.

In large part thanks to those individuals, and to groups back home that supported their activities, by 1826 the Great Powers had become involved in the conflict. A joint naval task force sent by Great Britain, France and Russia was intended to impose peace on the warring sides, but ended up destroying the Ottoman fleet in Navarino bay, off the southwest coast of the Peloponnese, in October 1827 (see Nos. 33 & 34). In the aftermath, Greece won international recognition as a sovereign country on 3 February 1830.

Interim head of state was Count Ioannis Kapodistrias, also known as John Capo d'Istria, a Greek aristocrat from Corfu who had previously served as foreign minister of Russia (see No. 35). After he was assassinated by political opponents on 9 October 1831, Greece descended into chaos for several months, until the Great Powers appointed Prince Otto of Bavaria to become the first king of independent Greece, and determined frontiers for the new nation in May 1832. In February the next year, the future king arrived at Nafplio aboard a British warship.

For the first time in the 3,500-year recorded history of the Greeks, Greece had become a nation-state. First recognised in 1830, Greece was also the first of all the new nation-states to be created in Europe in the 19th century after the Napoleonic Wars, to be followed by Belgium in 1831, Italy and Germany in 1871, and the rest of the Balkans between 1878 and 1913.

R.B.


93
Book First. Appendix to Chapter Sixth.

Proclamation of Ypsilanti convoking a national Assembly.

Citizens of Peloponnesus! ecclesiastics & Laymen, young & old, inhabitants of ~~every~~ rank & age! the time is come for you to assemble here at Tripolitzya, to give your opinion on the rights & wants of your country. I, Demetrius Ypsilanti am come hither to fight for your Liberty; I am come to defend your rights, honor, lives & goods; I am come to give you just laws, & equitable tribunals, to the end that no person may injure your interests, or play with your existence. It is time that tyranny should at length cease, not only that of the Turks, but also the tyranny of those individuals (a) who sharing the sentiments of the Turks wish to oppress the people. Unite Peloponnesians, if you desire to abate the evils that have hitherto afflicted you. I am your father who heard your groans even in the heart of Russia, & have come to protect you, to render you happy, to labour for your deliverance, to ensure the felicity of your families, to release you from the abject state to which you were reduced by impious tyrants, & the friends & companions of these tyrants. Assemble then! hasten from your towns & villages to assert in my presence your rights as free citizens, to point out to me the persons you judge most capable, that I may give them to you as Ephori & guardians of your interests. Lose no time; be not the dupes of perverse men attached to tyranny; shew that you understand what Liberty is, & recognize your General & defender: thus you will give to the rest of Greece the example of a wise & lawful government.
On the 30th day of this present month, I desire to see you assembled round me, to discuss freely your rights under the eye of your chief & father. I therefore send good patriots, charged to read to you this paper, & to represent to you by word of mouth the necessity of your meeting.

Tripolitzya 6th/18 of October (1821)

(Signed) Demetrius Ypsilanti
Lieutenant of the Generalissimo.

Notes
(a) Invectives applied to the Kodjabashis.

13.

THE GREEK REVOLUTION

The first complete and in the opinion of many still the most authoritative English-language histories of the Greek Revolution were written by two Scots who fought in support of it, Thomas Gordon of Buthlaw and Cairness (1788–1841) and George Finlay (1799–1875). Both their works were eventually translated into Modern Greek by the renowned novelist Alexandros Papadiamantis (1851–1911).

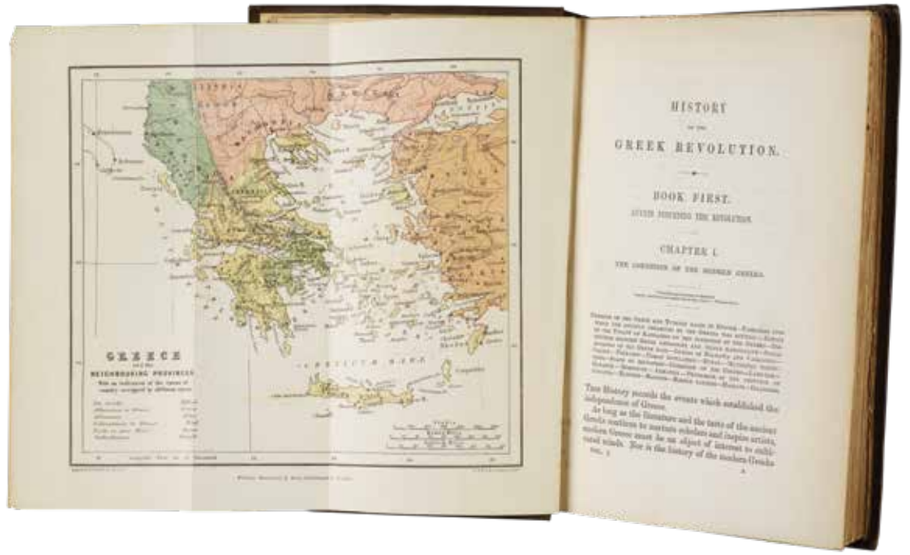
Page 23
13.
Manuscript Copy, 'History of the Greek Revolution' (1831–2)
Thomas Gordon (1788–1841)
University of Aberdeen Special Collections, MS 1160/22/3

The handwriting on this page is Gordon's own, from a fair manuscript copy of his *History*, published in print in Edinburgh in 1832. The work's rigour led contemporaries to compare Gordon to the ancient Greek historian Thucydides. His aim was 'to represent the Greek Revolution as it really was' (I.iii), and the work remains seminal.

Gordon was an eyewitness to many of the events he described. He was one of the first western Europeans to support the Revolution, paying for volunteers and munitions to be transported from Marseilles to Greece in 1821 while he himself made for Tripolitsa (today's Tripoli) and there became aide-de-camp to Dimitrios Ypsilantis. Having succumbed to fever, he repaired to Britain and there supported the war effort through his membership of the London Greek Committee (see No. 50) and leadership of an Aberdeen branch. He returned to Greece in 1826 and settled at Argos from 1828–31, thereafter moving back and forwards between Greece and Scotland.

Gordon's philhellenism had deep roots. He was raised in opulent neoclassical style at Cairness House and educated at Eton, Marischal College in Aberdeen, and Oxford. He was a wealthy

14.



15.

Aberdeenshire laird, supported by income from a Jamaican plantation worked by enslaved people (see No. 56). He travelled in Greece and visited Athens in 1810 (the same time as his Aberdonian-raised contemporary, Lord Byron: see Nos. 26–7) and served in intelligence-gathering roles and in military capacities for Russia and Hanover in their struggles against Napoleon's France. During this time, he acquired a famously strong command of both Modern Greek and Ottoman Turkish, which served him well in his capacities as both officer and historian. At the end of his service, he held the high rank of major-general in the Greek army.

14.
Major-General Thomas Gordon (1788–1841), FRS
Unknown artist
Oil on Canvas
Image courtesy of Aberdeenshire Museums Service

15.
***History of the Greek Revolution*, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1861)**
George Finlay (1799–1875)
The University of Edinburgh, Ba.2.16

As long as the literature and the taste of the ancient Greeks continue to nurture scholars and inspire artists, modern Greece must be an object of interest to cultivated minds. Nor is the history of the modern Greeks unworthy of attention. (pp. 1–2)

While Finlay's opening statement acknowledges that his readers would be more interested in classical than modern Greece, this did not stop him from embarking on an utterly innovative historiographical project. Unlike Gordon's *History of the Greek Revolution*, Finlay's own two-volume account was conceived not as a stand-alone project but rather the final step in an ambitious historiographical enterprise that covered almost exactly two millennia. For Finlay, the Greek Revolution meant the end of a long period during which Greece had been ruled by foreign powers: first the Romans, then the Byzantines (Eastern Romans) as well as, in some parts after 1204, the Venetians and Latin Crusaders, and finally the Ottomans.

Finlay initially published the various instalments of this historiographical project between 1843 and 1861 with W. Blackwood in Edinburgh; he then began revising the whole series into a more coherent seven-volume set, his *History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time, B. C. 146 to A. D. 1864*. In the event, Finlay died before he could see this project through; it fell to Henry Fanshawe Tozer, a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and subsequently author of a well-regarded *History of Ancient Geography* (1896), to publish the revised series in 1877, now with Oxford's Clarendon Press.

By looking at the Byzantine Empire through a Greek lens, Finlay's account marked a further step

16.

away from the influential paradigm that Edward Gibbon, alongside others, had developed in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–89). Finlay's account of the Revolution turned de facto into a history of the incipient Greek state; the first (1861) edition ends in 1843 while the posthumous (1877) edition takes events up to the inaugural days of the Danish prince who served as its second king, George I (reigned 1863–1913). Through his continuing presence in Greece, Finlay influenced incipient modern Greek historiography; influential figures such as Spyridon Zambelios and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (see Nos. 18 and 53, respectively) expanded on his inclusion of Byzantium into a Greek rather than Roman framework.

16.
Engraving of George Finlay (1799–1875)
After 1842
Numa Blanc (1816–97) and Paul Petit (active 19th century)
Reproduced courtesy of the British School at Athens, George Finlay Personal Papers, FIN/GF/A20, p. 84

A descendant of a Glaswegian merchant family, George Finlay was born at Faversham, Kent, in 1799 where his father was posted at the time but following the latter's death grew up with his uncle near Glasgow; as he noted in his short autobiography (*History*, ed. Tozer, I.xxxix–xli), 'summer was now a happy period, for it was passed at the mouth of the Clyde, where it widens into a salt-water lake'. Finlay studied the law in Glasgow and Göttingen, where he became good friends with the only Greek student enrolled at the time; when he left for the Kingdom of Hanover, his uncle predicted he would not see him again before Finlay had 'visited the Greeks'. 'The words proved prophetic', Finlay notes: 'The Greek Revolution had begun to excite notice, and received a greater share of my attention than I was aware, until the fact was revealed to me by my uncle's observation … My uncle knew me better than I knew myself'.

When Finlay reached Greece, resolved to 'judge for myself concerning the condition of the people and the country and the chances of the war', he spent two months with Lord Byron. Finlay recounted to Leicester Stanhope how, upon their first encounter on Cephalonia in October 1823, Byron 'sat down upon the sofa, still examining me; I felt the reception more poetical than agreeable: but he immediately commenced his fascinating conversation'. Only a few days later did Finlay find out what had motivated Byron's reaction: 'The next time we met was out riding. Lord Byron told me he had been struck at first by my resemblance to [the poet P. B.] Shelley. "I thought you were Shelley's ghost", were his words' (Stanhope, *Greece*, new edn., pp. 511–13). In the event, Finlay left Byron nine days before his death. He briefly returned to Edinburgh, where he completed his studies, but when the opportunity arose moved to Greece for good in 1827. He served in the Greek army until 1837, including under Thomas Gordon, and died in Athens in 1875.

In this engraving, Finlay wears two medals: the Gold Cross of a Knight of the Order of the Saviour (left), presented for services to the country in 1837 by Otto, the first king of independent Greece (reigned 1832–62), and the Silver Cross for war services (right), awarded by Otto in 1842.

Pages 28–29
17.
Illustrations of Events in the Greek War of Independence: 2. The Fall of Constantinople [1453]
About 1836–9
Dimitrios Zographos (active early 19th century), attributed to Panagiotis Zographos
Bodycolour
Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2021, RCIN 923699

The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople (1453) brought an end to the Greek-speaking, Orthodox Christian East Roman Empire that is commonly called the 'Byzantine Empire'. Sultan Mehmed II (known as Fatih or 'the Conqueror') can be seen enthroned on the right, with Byzantine clergy and notables being led before him. The woman in chains on the left is an allegory of Greece under Ottoman rule, while the revolutionary writer Rigas Velestinlis/Feraios (1757–98) appears above her, sowing the metaphorical seeds of liberty: his words inspire the Greeks standing nearby to

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take up the arms of Revolution. This symbolic scene, combining two different historical periods, suggests a nationalist ideal of Greek continuity throughout Ottoman rule: the composition represents the Byzantine Empire, and especially its fall, as an integral part of Greek history.

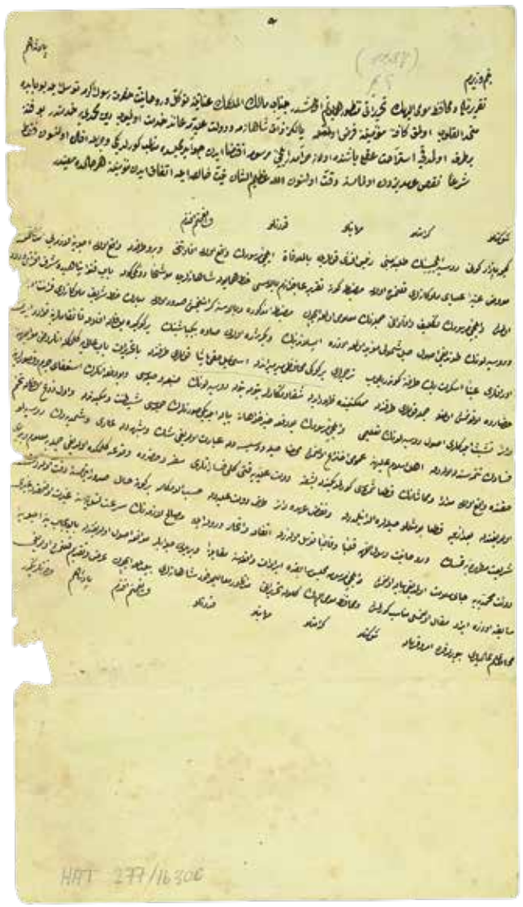
Page 27
18.
***Ἄσματα δημοτικὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος* ('Folk Songs of Greece') (Corfu, 1852)**
Spyridon Zambelios (1815–81)
The University of Edinburgh, Bl. Coll. 1.22

Constantine XI, the last Byzantine emperor (reigned 1449–53), is seen here brandishing his sword at the Fall of Constantinople, during which battle he died. The image is the frontispiece of Zambelios's collection of Greek folk songs, which included a 600-page essay on 'medieval Hellenism'.

Zambelios was the first Greek historian to write of the Christian medieval period as being part of a continuous Hellenic history from antiquity to the modern nation state. In addition to the *Folk Songs*, in 1857 he published his *Byzantine Studies: On the Sources of Modern Greek Ethnicity from the Eighth to the Tenth Centuries AD (Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται περὶ πηγῶν νεοελληνικῆς ἐθνότητος ἀπὸ η΄ ἄρχι ι΄ ἑκατονταετηρίδος μ. Χ.*); in the preface, he presented a spirited case for fully incorporating the Byzantine period into Greek historiography by provocatively asking his contemporary readers how much they had in common with their ancient ancestors, and how much they owed to the Byzantines.

Edinburgh's Professor of Greek, John Stuart Blackie (Nos. 70–2), owned copies of both publications.

When the Revolution broke out in 1821, the Ottoman Empire quickly began to retaliate. The Ottomans viewed the Greek Revolution as a domestic revolt rather than a foreign war, and Russia was perceived as the greater threat. Ottoman Sultan Mahmud II (reigned 1808–39) responded by ordering the execution of the figurehead of the Greek community, the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople Gregory V (in office 1797–8, 1806–8 and 1818–21), even though he had condemned the Revolution.
(All following translations by Şükrü Ilıcak.)



19.

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19.
Memorandum to Sultan Mahmud II and Mahmud's Order Concerning the Expedition of Alexandros Ypsilantis in Moldowallachia (1821)
Mahmud II (1785–1839) and Grand Vizier
Reproduced courtesy of the Ottoman State Archives, Istanbul, HAT 277/16306

A month before southern Greece rose in revolution, Alexandros Ypsilantis crossed from Russia into Ottoman Moldavia and raised an army of Balkan Christians to fight for Greek independence. They were soon defeated. The Ottomans were convinced it was a Russian plot.

Grand Vizier: *The brigands that appeared in Moldowallachia were products of a Russian ruse and stratagem, and their attempt to ask for forgiveness of their crimes and wrongdoings was prompted by the Russians.*

Sultan Mahmud II: *Religion forbids anyone in their right mind to engage in repose until this sedition is suppressed. You shall give the necessary answers to the [Russian] ambassador …*

20.
Memorandum to Sultan Mahmud II and Mahmud's Order Concerning the Outbreak of the Revolution and the Hanging of Patriarch Gregory V (April 1821)
Mahmud II (1785–1839) and Grand Vizier
Reproduced courtesy of the Ottoman State Archives, Istanbul, HAT 1316/51287

Grand Vizier: … *as the head of his flock and as a Moreot [i.e. from the Peloponnese], the Patriarch must have known about this manufactured sedition from the beginning. […] The patriarch should be hanged due to his misconduct …*

Sultan Mahmud II: … *seize the patriarch and hang him […] Have the seditious figures among prominent Greeks arrested and arrange their due punishment, since ordinary violence does not scare them enough to put an end to their sedition.*

Page 31

21.
Laskarina Bouboulina (1771–1825)
(19th Century)
Unknown artist
Oil on Canvas
Reproduced courtesy of the National Historical Museum, Athens, 325-.

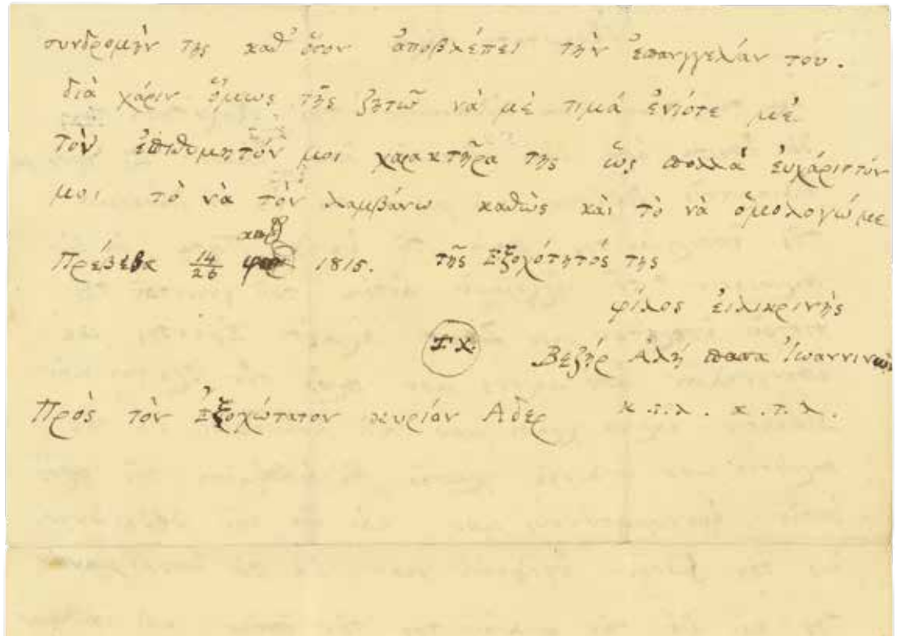
Numerous Greek women are celebrated for their roles in the Revolution. One of them was the naval captain Laskarina Bouboulina, here depicted in a commanding pose, armed and in the midst of action. Bouboulina was linked with the islands of Hydra and Spetses, both important shipping hubs. With her ship, the *Agamemnon*, she took part in blockades. Her father, Stavrianos Pinotsis, preceded her as a naval commander and was imprisoned by the Ottomans for fighting in an earlier, Russian-backed Greek rebellion in 1770.

22.
Letter of Ali Pasha (about 1740–1822) to Sir Robert Adair (1763–1855) (1815)
Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland, MS.43550, A22 375, No. 11

By turns he was mild and cruel, tolerant and tyrannical; but his avarice never slept … (Finlay, *Hist. Revol.*, I.72)

This letter is illustrative of Ottoman-Albanian regional ruler Ali Pasha's use of Greek as an administrative language. The message asks Adair

to ensure Ali Pasha's emissary would be well received at Constantinople, where Adair had previously been British ambassador (unpublished trans. Michael Ward). Despite his reputation as a ruthless ruler, Ali Pasha was courted by European diplomats until he was defeated and killed by the Ottomans in 1822, having defied the sultan and been declared a rebel.



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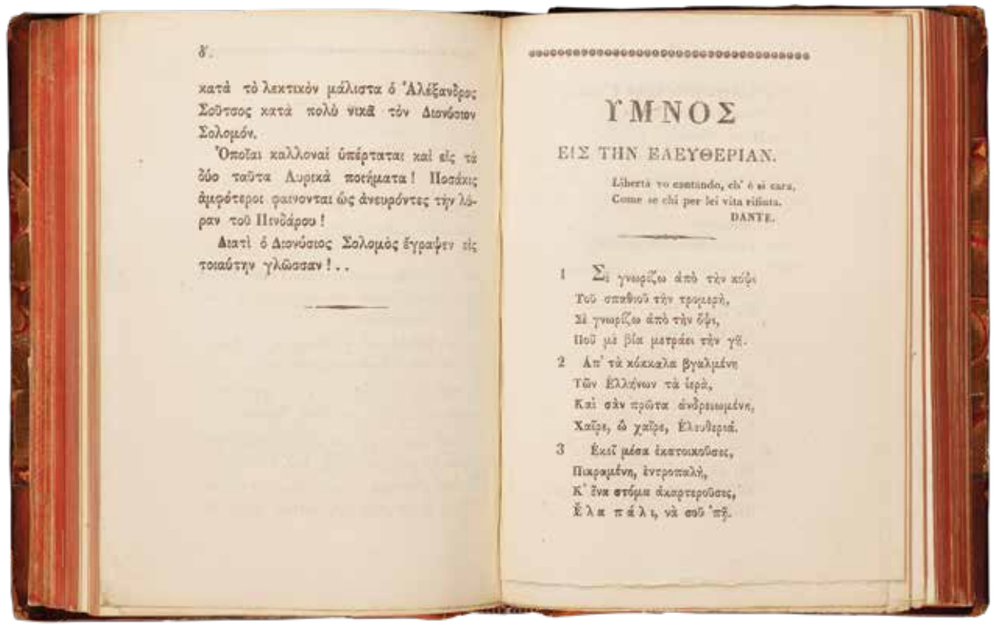


δ'.

κατὰ τὸ λεκτικὸν μάλιστα ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Σοῦτσος κατὰ πολὺ νικᾷ τὸν Διονύσιον Σολομόν.

Ὁποῖαι καλλοναὶ ὑπέρτατα καὶ εἰς τὰ δύο ταῦτα Λυρικὰ ποιήματα! Ποσάκις ἀμφότεροι φαίνονται ὡς ἀνευρόντες τὴν λάραν τοῦ Πενδάρου!

Διατὶ ὁ Διονύσιος Σολομὸς ἔγραψεν εἰς τοιαύτην γλῶσσαν!..

ΥΜΝΟΣ

ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΝ.

Libertà va cantando, ch' è sì cara,
Come sa chi per lei vita rifiuta.
DANTE.

1 Σὲ γνωρίζω ἀπὸ τὴν κόψη
Τοῦ σπαθιοῦ τὴν τρομερὴ,
Σὲ γνωρίζω ἀπὸ τὴν ὄψη,
Ποῦ μὲ βία μετράει τὴν γῆ.

2 Ἀπ' τὰ κόκκαλα βγαλμένη
Τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ ἱερὰ,
Καὶ σὰν πρώτα ἀνδρειωμένη,
Χαῖρε, ὦ χαῖρε, Ἐλευθεριά.

3 Ἐκεῖ μέσα ἑκατοικοῦσες,
Πικραμένη, ἐντροπαλὴ,
Κ' ἔνα στόμα ἀκαρτεροῦσες,
Ἔλα πάλι, νὰ σοῦ 'πῇ.

23.

23.
Ὕμνος εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ('Hymn to Liberty'), from *Οἱ δύο διθύραμβοι τοῦ Διονυσίου Σολομοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου Σούτσου* ('The Two Songs of D. Solomos and Alexandros Soutsos') (Athens, 1851)
Dionysios Solomos (1798–1857)
The University of Edinburgh, Bl. Coll.5.15/5

Solomos wrote his *Hymn to Liberty* in 1823. The text evokes key moments from the first years of the Revolution and casts the Greek pursuit of freedom as a national and religious renewal. The first two stanzas, set to music by the composer Nikolaos Mantzaros (1795–1872), were adopted as the national anthem in 1865.

We knew thee of old,
Oh, divinely restored,
By the light of thine eyes
And the light of thy Sword.

From the graves of our slain
Shall thy valour prevail
As we greet thee again —
Hail, Liberty! Hail!

(Translation by Rudyard Kipling)

24.

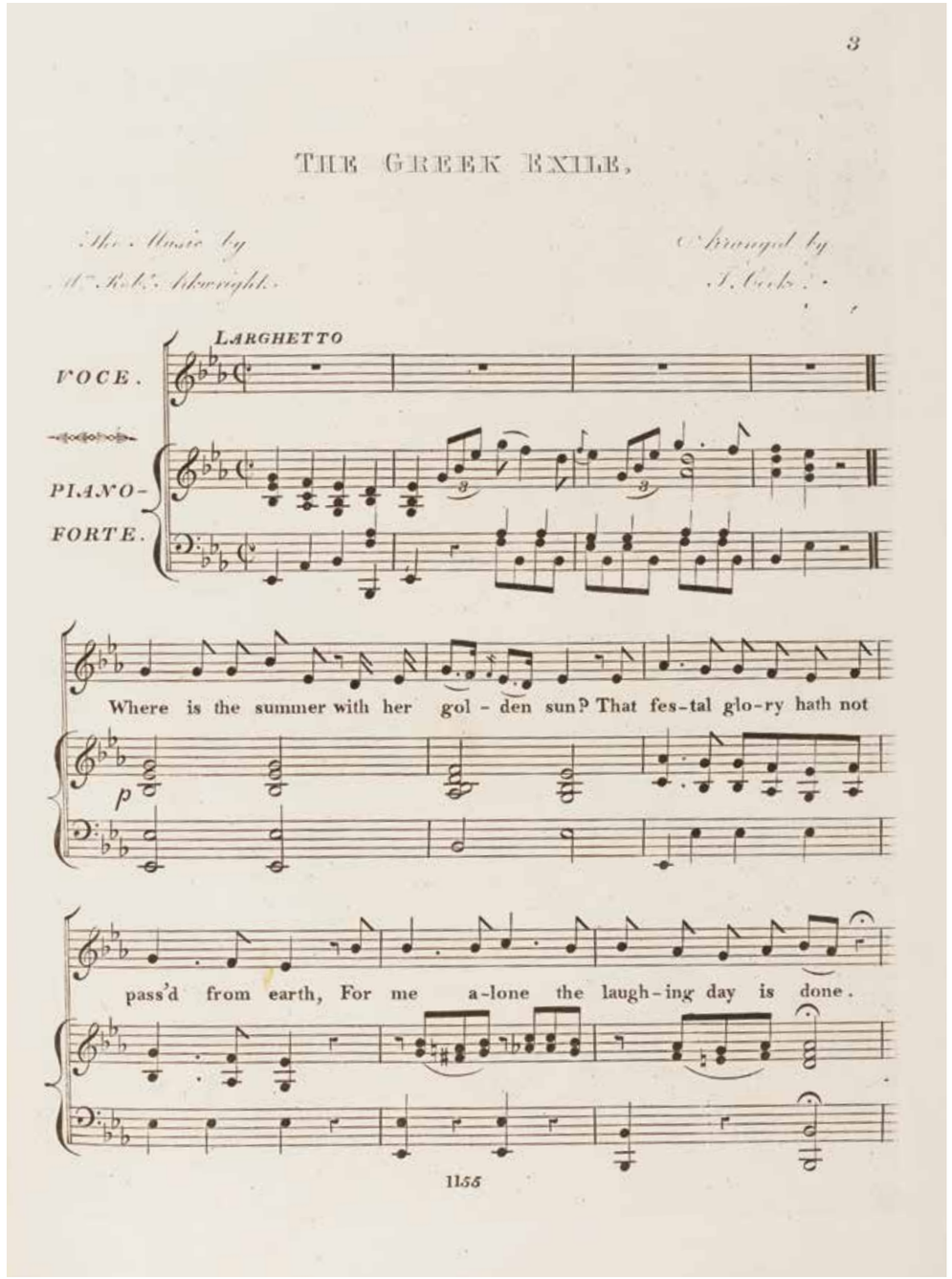
24.
Bouzouki
Unknown maker (20th century)
The University of Edinburgh, MIMEd 6545

This modern bouzouki, an instrument commonly played in Greece, has a quirky musical link to Scotland. It was played by Roy Williams of the folk band The Corries when the song *Flower of Scotland*, sometimes described as Scotland's 'unofficial national anthem', was first broadcast on television.

25.
'The Greek Exile: A Ballad' (London, 1828)
Felicia Hemans (1793–1835)
and Frances Arkwright (1786–1849)
The University of Edinburgh, Mus.f.128/10

Where are the temples, through the dim wood shining,
The virgin-dances, and the choral strains?
Where the sweet sisters of my youth, entwining
The fresh rose-garlands for their sylvan fanes?
—Far in my own bright land!

Published in the same year that Solomos wrote his *Hymn to Liberty* (1823: see No. 23), this poem is full of classical references including laurels, Fauns and Dryads. Many in Britain and elsewhere in western Europe at this time had similar visions of Greece, with little appreciation of the more violent contemporary realities.



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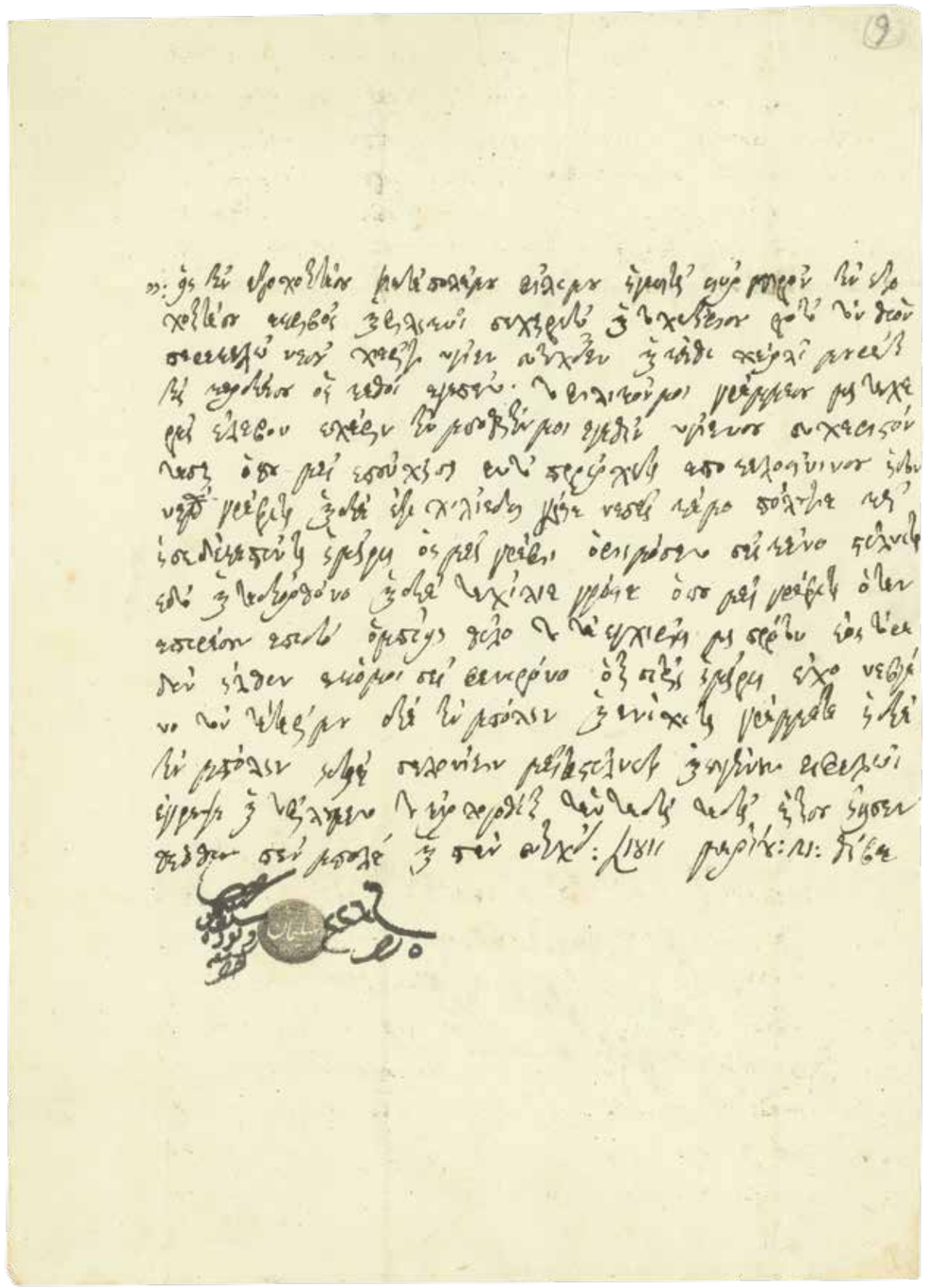


27.

The person who, by joining the Hellenic cause, and dying for it [in 1824], gave the Greek struggle an éclat and prestige it could hardly have otherwise acquired, was 'Half a Scotchman born, a whole one bred'. In his previous visits to Greece [in 1809–11], Byron had conceived far too low an estimate of the Grecian character. He had asserted the Greeks would never be independent, and he had even deprecated their independence. He afterwards, however, nobly atoned for his mistake. (Masson, *Philhellenic Banner* 1/1, p. 46)

26.
Greek Phrasebook (perhaps 1809–10)
George Gordon Byron, 6th Baron Byron (1788–1824)
Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland, MS.43349

Byron studied Ancient Greek at Harrow and Cambridge but was never very proficient in it. This phrasebook may date from his earliest attempts to teach himself the modern language. He selected useful expressions, writing the Greek on the left-hand page and the English on the right. He filled only 14 sides of phrases in his book. Perhaps the many blank pages that follow tell their own story.

27.
Letter from Suleiman Aga, Governor of Thebes, to Byron at Athens (1811)
Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland, MS.43550, A22 375, No. 9

This letter testifies to Byron's cordial interactions with local Ottoman officials during his first visit to Greece. Suleiman sends his best wishes for Byron's good health and discusses financial affairs (it seems he lent Byron money). He closes by offering Byron the opportunity to use his courier to send letters to Constantinople and Thessaloniki (unpublished trans. Michael Ward). Suleiman communicated with Byron in Greek but signed his name in Ottoman Turkish.

28.
Cephalonia Journal (1823–4)
George Gordon Noel Byron, 6th Baron Byron (1788–1824)
Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland, MS.43353

The Cephalonia Journal contains the manuscript copy of Byron's last completed poem: *On This Day I Complete My Thirty-Sixth Year*. These birthday verses were written during his 100-day stay at Missolonghi in early 1824. By that time, he was completely devoted to the cause of Greek independence:

Awake! (not Greece—she is awake!)
Awake, my Spirit! Think through whom
Thy life-blood tracks its parent lake
And then strike home!

29.
Παραδείγματα ῥωμαϊκῆς ποιητικῆς
('Specimens of Romaic Lyric Poetry')
(London, 1826)
Paul Maria Leopold Joss
The University of Edinburgh, *T.27.3

Of steps the sound, of guns the deadly knell,
Of men or women, whence that piercing yell?
These hollow guns not on the target play,
A sacred festal's freak;—no, 'tis a fray;
They send a foe to Tartarus a prey.

This poem, described as 'a brigand tale' (*poiima klephtikon* in Modern Greek), celebrates the mountain-dwelling bandits or klephts who had long resisted Ottoman rule. It was written by Spyridon Trikoupis (1788–1873), the first Greek historian of the Revolution, eulogist of Lord Byron, and later a long-serving Greek ambassador to London. He came from a prominent Missolonghi family. (Modern) Greek came to be called 'Romaic' because it was the language of the Romans in the East, whom we today usually call 'Byzantines'.

30.
George Gordon Noel Byron, 6th Baron Byron (1788–1824), Poet (1813)
Thomas Phillips (1770–1845)
Oil on Canvas

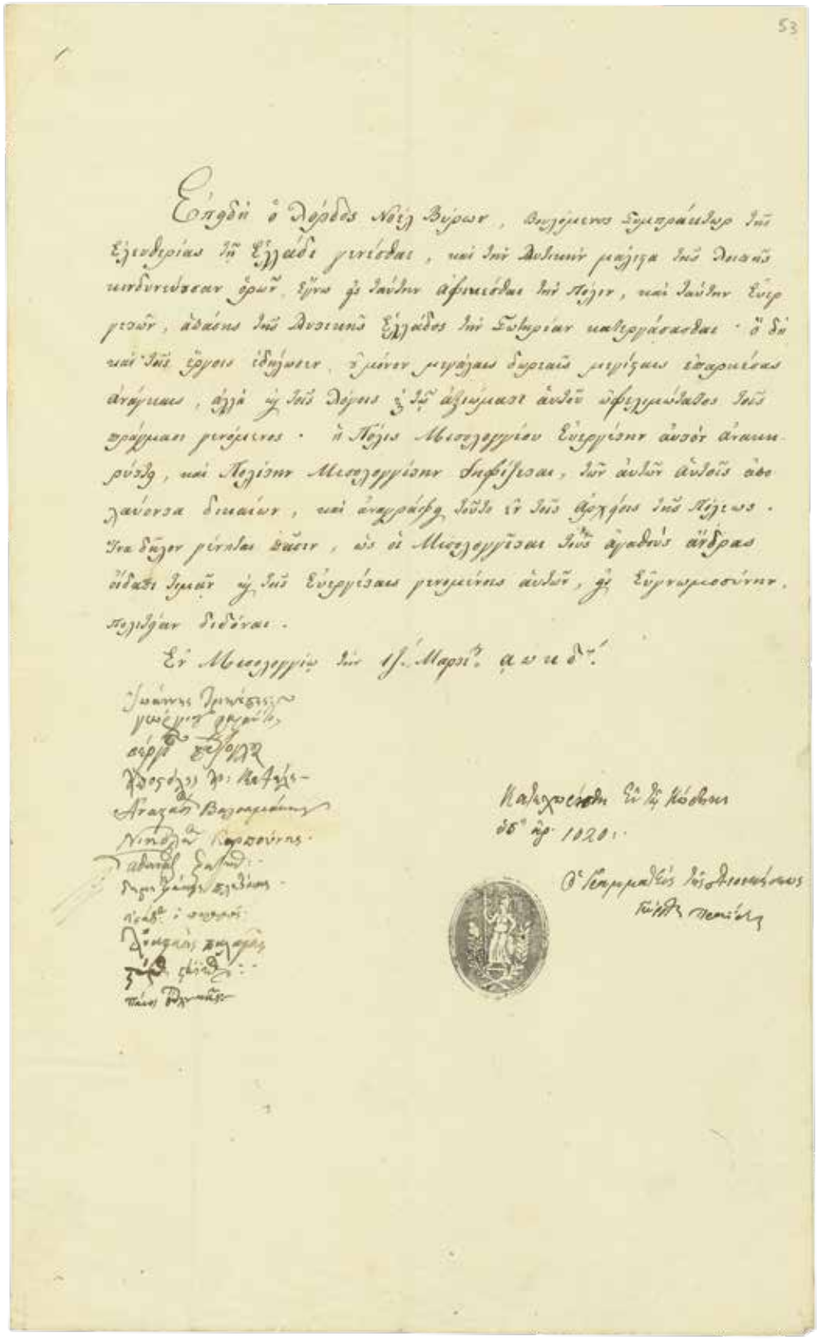
Byron wears a striking full suit of local costume acquired during his first visit to the Balkans (1809–11). He obtained it in Epiros (the northwest of today's Greece), probably from Ali Pasha's capital of Ioannina.

31.
Freedom of Missolonghi Conferred upon Lord Byron (1824)
Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland, MS.43550, A22 375, No. 53

In March 1824, the people of Missolonghi granted Byron the freedom of the town in recognition of his contribution to the Revolution. On 19 April that year, Byron died. He had contracted a fever during a bout of bad weather but said himself that he was victim to a 'nervous disorder'.

The admirers of his genius must lament, that the noble poet and Philhellene did not die in the field with his sword in his hand, rather than pine away upon a couch amidst the mud and misery of Messalonghi. (Gordon, *History*, II.118)

30.



31.

THE GREEK REVOLUTION

Opposite page
32.
Les femmes de Missolonghi à la brèche (‘The Women of Missolonghi at the Breach’) (Montereau, France, 19th century)
Ceramic
Benaki Museum, Athens, ΓΕ 8529

Most of the women who took part in the sortie dressed themselves in the fustinello [white kilt] […], and carried arms like soldiers; most of the children had also loaded pistols into their belts, which many had already learned how to use. (Finlay, *Hist. Rev.*, II.106)

The third Siege of Missolonghi (1825–6) saw the town fall to the Ottomans and led to widespread massacre. Many of the besieged took their own lives to avoid capture. The siege became a key event of the Revolution because it caught the imagination and sympathy of many members of the public across Europe, ultimately drawing foreign powers into the conflict.

Pages 42–43
33.
Illustrations of Events in the Greek War of Independence: 20. Long Live the Three Powers, the Saviours of the Greeks
About 1836–9
Bodycolour
Dimitrios Zographos (active early 19th century), attributed to Panagiotis Zographos
Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2021, RCIN 923717

On 6 July 1827, Britain, France, and Russia agreed to impose peace in Greece. They despatched a joint fleet. Their treaty did not clarify when force could be applied, and confrontation was likely. The consequence was the Battle of Navarino (today Pylos, western Peloponnese) on 20 October. The allied forces under Sir Edward Codrington (1770–1851) annihilated the Ottoman-Egyptian navy under Ibrahim Pasha (1789–1848), turning the tide of the Revolution in the Greeks’ favour.

Supporters of Greek independence greeted the defeat of the Ottoman-Egyptian navy enthusiastically, but the action contravened Britain’s official non-aggressive stance towards the Ottomans and was described by King George IV as an ‘untoward event’.

34.
***Battle of Navarin* (Leith, 1828)**
The University of Edinburgh, Z.9.57/1–2

This leaflet advertises a panorama of the Battle of Navarino (1827) that was displayed in the Rotunda on Buchanan Street, Edinburgh, in 1828. William Marshall was a Glaswegian artist who specialized in the display of panoramas: such exhibitions were immensely popular in the early 19th century.


BATTLE of NAVARI
UNDER THE ESPECIAL PATRONAGE OF THE
LORD HIGH ADMIRAL.
NOW OPEN
IN THE
ROTUNDA, Buchanan Stree
Messrs. MARSHALL'S
New and Extensive Historical Peristrephic Panoram
(Never before Exhibited in Scotland,)
OF THE
BATTLE OF
NAVARIN,
FOUGHT ON THE 20th OCTOBER, 1827,
In the Harbour of Navarin in the Morea, between the Fleets of
Britain, France & Russi
Combined against those of
TURKEY AND EGYPT,
In which Battle the two latter Fleets were nearly annihilated.
Painted from the official plans, &c., by the Gracious Permi
and under the especial Patronage of His Royal Highn
The Lord High Admiral,
Also under the Direction of LORD VISCOUNT INGESTRIE, &c. &c.
THE WHOLE ACCOMPANIED BY A MILITARY BA
Order of the Subjects, &c.
ADMITTANCE.—Front Seats, 1s. 6d.—Back Seats, 1s.—Children, Half-price—
Standing Places, 6d.—Descriptive Books, 6d.—Perpetual Tickets, 5s.
Day Exhibitions from 12 to 4.—Evening Do. Brilliantly Illuminated from 7 till 10.
The Rotunda is Comfortably Heated with Stoves.

34.

Opposite page
35.
John, Count Capo d'Istria (1776–1831)
1818–19
Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830)
Oil on Canvas
Royal Collection Trust / © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2021, RCIN 404947

Ioannis Kapodistrias was born in Corfu in 1776 and sent to study medicine, philosophy and law in Padua. In 1803, he became minister, then chief minister of the short-lived Septinsular Republic, but entered Russian service when the Ionian islands were annexed by the French in 1807. His diplomatic endeavours during the Vienna Congress and Treaty of Paris following Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo (1815) led to his rapid promotion – alongside Count Karl of Nesselrode, he became Tsar Alexander I's foreign minister – but earned him the lasting enmity of both the British government and Prince Metternich. He offended the British over his attempts to restore the Septinsular Republic, who preferred to keep control of the Ionian islands in the form of a protectorate, known as the United States of the Ionian Islands, finally gifting them to the newly-crowned King George I of the Hellenes in 1864.

Kapodistrias was torn between his theoretical sympathy for the Greek cause on the one hand and his loyalty to the tsar on the other. Kapodistrias knew that the tsar was firmly opposed to any revolutionary movement, and over the following years turned down several offers from Greek patriots to join the impending Revolution. He discouraged Prince Alexandros Ypsilantis' Moldavian enterprise (mentioned in the Prelude, above), and in the end it fell to him to draft the tsar's disavowal of Ypsilantis' actions. Increasingly sympathetic toward the Greek cause, his position became untenable; in 1822, he withdrew to Switzerland, whose independence had been one of his diplomatic triumphs. Thanks to Kapodistrias's extensive diplomatic experience, the third Greek national assembly at Troizen elected him the country's first 'Governor', or head of state, on 14 April 1827, for a period of seven years. He toured the capitals of the three Great Powers to gain support for his mandate before assuming his new role. The tsar released Kapodistrias from his obligations on 12 July; from St Petersburg he travelled to London, where his reception was much cooler. After a stint in Paris, he arrived in Greece on 18 January, 1828.

Kapodistrias achieved economic, agricultural and military improvements, but his authoritarianism caused resentment that led to his assassination on 9 October 1831, by the members of the Mavromichalis clan (No. 36). Finlay appreciated Kapodistrias's personal virtues but remained critical of his policies:

Capodistrias was immeasurably superior to every Greek whom the Revolution has hitherto raised to power. He had many virtues and great abilities. His conduct was firm and disinterested; his manners simple and dignified. His personal feelings were warm and, as a consequence of his virtue, they were sometimes so strong as to warp his judgment. … He generally used the French language in writing as well as speaking. He was indeed unable to write Greek, though he spoke it fluently. For a statesmen, he was far too loquacious. (*Hist. Revol.*, II.31)

Thomas Gordon, whose *History of the Greek Revolution* all but ends with Kapodistrias's arrival in Greece, somewhat laconically compared the latter's good fortunes with the fate of Alexandros Ypsilantis who had gambled, and lost, everything for the sake of the Revolution:

While fortune, thus smiling upon Capodistrias, presented him with a sceptre, his forsaken tool, Alexander Ypsilanti, lay stretched on his death-bed in Vienna …, a martyr to Hellenic independence, and a victim of Prince Metternich's rigour. (*History*, II.443–4)

Kapodistrias sat for Thomas Lawrence in the context of the Aachen peace congress in 1818, when the future King George IV of Great Britain commissioned a series of portraits of the delegates.

Opposite page

36.
Pair of Pistols Belonging to Petrobey Mavromichalis (1765–1848)
Benaki Museum, Athens, ΓΕ 5742

These elaborate pistols are decorated with silver mounts and gilding with ornamentation hammered from the underside ('repoussé'). They belonged to Petrobey Mavromichalis, the leading member of a Peloponnesian family with a tradition of rebellion against Ottoman rule. His father and grandfather participated prominently in the revolt of 1770, while Petrobey was a major figure during the Revolution. In 1831, Petrobey was imprisoned by Kapodistrias, whom his relatives assassinated shortly afterwards.

37.
***Manto Mavrogenous* (1971)**
Kostas Karagiannis (1932–1993) (Director)
Reproduced courtesy of the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive of the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation (ELIA/MIET), Performing Arts Department, CB.4.079

This poster shows Tzeni Karezi in the title role of Manto Mavrogenous (1796/7–1848), a revolutionary heroine, in Karagiannis' 1971 film. From her base of Mykonos, Mavrogenous gave vital financial aid to the war effort. She also helped to publicize the Revolution by sending letters to the women of France and England. At one time she was engaged to the nobleman and revolutionary Dimitrios Ypsilantis (1793–1832), shown here on the right, played by Petros Fyssoun.

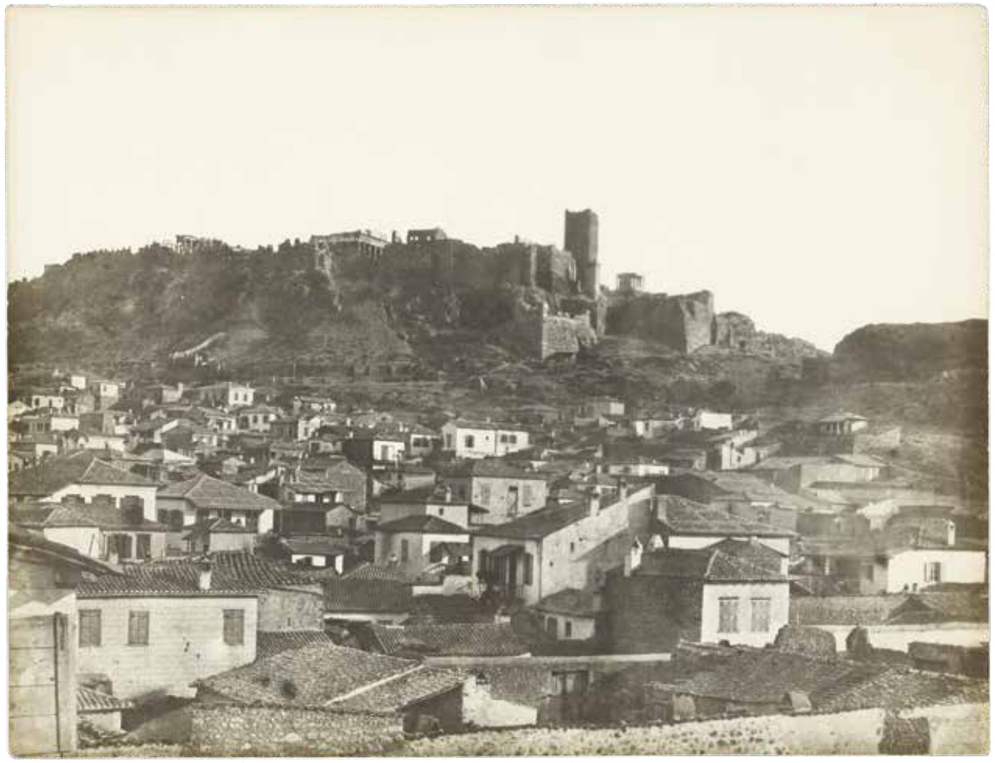
37.

38–46.
Photographs of Athens (1851)
John Shaw Smith (1811–73)
The University of Edinburgh, Coll-20 Box 3

John Shaw Smith was an Irish photographer who travelled extensively in the Mediterranean and Middle East between December 1850 and September 1852. These early photographs provide rare glimpses of Athens during the reign of Otto (1832–62), the first king of Greece following Kapodistrias's brief rule.

38. Gate of Athena Archegetis, Roman Agora
39. Parthenon
40. Choragic Monument of Lysicrates
41. View of Athens
42. Figure in Doorway in Traditional Dress
43. Tower of the Winds
44. Temple of Theseus
45. Byzantine Church of Hagioi Theodoroi
46. Royal Palace (now Parliament)

41.




38.


39.


40.


42.


43.


44.


45.


46.

‘LOVERS OF GREECE’: THE SCOTTISH PHILHELLENES

In the 1850s, the Scottish educationalist, publicist and attorney, Edward Masson (b. Laurencekirk, 1800; d. Athens, 1873), recalled a conversation with a divine about his decision to travel to revolutionary Greece. ‘What business had you there, a man of peace?’, the minister asked. ‘Doctor, I was young, and the spirit of the Covenant and of the Grampians came o’er me’, Masson replied (*Philhellenic Banner* 1/1, p. 46). A pious Presbyterian and later Free Church preacher who worked as a schoolteacher and served as a naval attaché in the war (not to mention translating Burns’ *Scots, wha hae wi’ Wallace Bled* into Modern Greek), Masson emerges as the Scottish philhellene *par excellence*.

The first major group of Scottish philhellenes comprised dissenting Presbyterians who supported charitable activity on behalf of the Greeks, particularly in education, thus continuing a centuries-old tradition of Orthodox–Protestant relations. Masson’s support for the Greek cause seems to have been aroused in Edinburgh in 1822, when the dissenting minister Rev. Dr Thomas M’Crie the Elder (1772–1835), known best as a biographer of John Knox, spoke at the first public philhellenic meeting in Britain. M’Crie proposed enacting ‘a duty of charity to the necessitous, […] a work of mercy to the wretched’, but opposed government intervention, as did most at that time (M’Crie Jr., *Life*, p. 458: see No. 49). In 1824, freshly graduated from King’s College, Aberdeen, Masson sailed to Greece and became a teacher on the Aegean island of Hydra. M’Crie later participated in the launch of the Scottish Ladies Society for the Promotion of Education in Greece (see No. 69), held in Edinburgh in 1825 on the initiative of another dissenting Presbyterian, the radical philanthropist Agnes Renton (1781–1863). The handful of teachers funded by this society were sent not to revolutionary Greece but to the Ionian Islands, then a British protectorate; such Protestant educational projects, also undertaken by English and American counterparts, therefore belonged to the wider context of imperialist interests and the ‘civilizing mission’ in the eastern Mediterranean.

The second major group of Scottish philhellenes comprised officers trying to negotiate the new European order after the conclusive defeat of Napoleon; many of them were classically educated and thus particularly attracted to Greece. In 1827, Masson became secretary to his countryman Thomas Cochrane, later 10th Earl of Dundonald (1775–1860). Cochrane, nicknamed by Napoleon ‘the wolf of the seas’, had been appointed high admiral of Greece following a celebrated naval career in Europe and South America. Cochrane was not so much a true lover of Greece as a hero for hire; despite lending his famous name to the cause, his actions achieved little by comparison with the decisive naval Battle of Navarino, also in 1827 (see Nos. 33–4). In this way, Masson came into contact with this second group of philhellenes, to which, among others, belonged the Aberdeenshire laird and historian Thomas Gordon of Cairness and Buthlaw (Nos. 13, 50, 55–6).

After the Revolution, Masson became a leading attorney in Greece and during this time published and lectured on Greek political and cultural matters and wrote poetry reflecting on his Scottish roots. His poem *The Exile*, written in Athens in 1840, compares the mountains and glens of northeast Scotland with the hilly landscapes of Greece, evidently building on the Scottish philhellenic poetics first developed by Lord Byron. Masson writes of how:

> *In Alpheus’ stream I see romantic Don,*
> *And hear lov’d Dee in old Eurotas’ roar;*
> *Dread Bannockburn appears in Marathon;*
> *In Leuctra, wild Culloden’s field of gore;*
> *Fair Forth’s broad billows lave the Argive shore;*
> *Some plaided warrior seems each Pallikar;*
> *Arcadia’s valleys Grampian glens restore;*
> *On Pisa’s plain I muse on Fingal’s car;*
> *I hail Parnassus’ heights, and sigh for Lochnagar!*
> (Masson, *Philhellenic Banner* 1/1, p. 47)

A.G.

Links between Greece and Scotland long predated the Revolution. Relations between the Protestant and Greek Orthodox faiths developed after the Reformation in the 16th century because both groups defined themselves in their opposition to Roman Catholicism. A number of Greek refugees came to Scotland at this time, where they received support but also encountered prejudice.

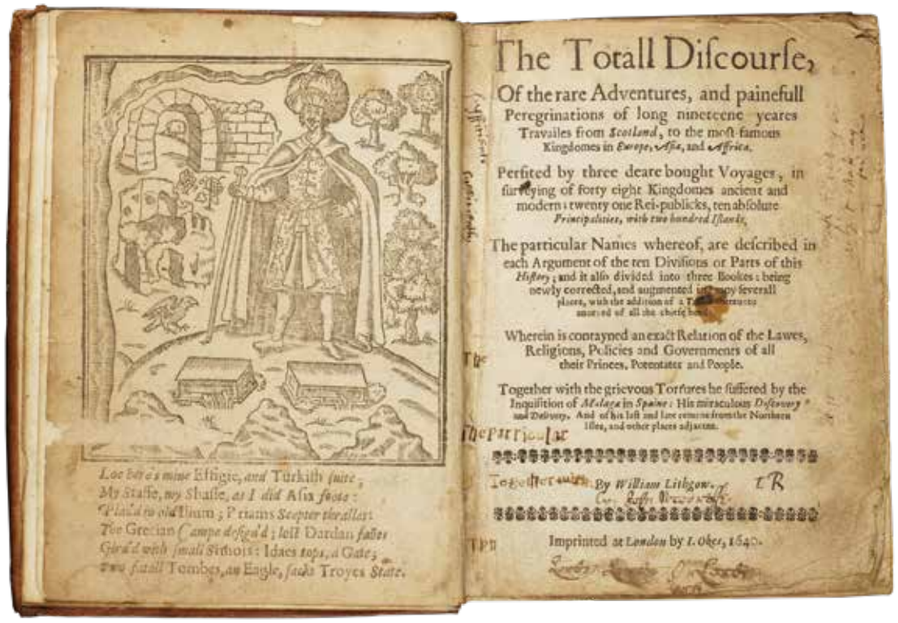
47.
***The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures & Painefull Peregrinations of Long Nineteene Yeares Travayles from Scotland to the Most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia and Affrica* (London, 1640)**
William Lithgow (1582–about 1645)
The University of Edinburgh, TR.954

In all this Country of Greece I could finde nothing to answer the famous relations, given by ancient Authors of the excellency of that land, but the name onely ...
(pp. 71–2)

William Lithgow of Lanark travelled extensively throughout the Mediterranean, including in the Aegean region in 1609–11. His *Totall Discourse* records these travels and gives voice to his prejudices against the contemporary Greek people and their Ottoman rulers. He mistrusted Greek refugees who came to Scotland, saying that their tales of poverty and captivity were inventions.

48.
Correspondence of Patrick Young (1584–1652)
The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Smith MS 38

This is a copy of a letter sent from Edinburgh in 1612 by Anastasios Ioseph. He was a Greek refugee whose son was apparently held captive by a group of Ottomans. The recipient was Patrick Young, librarian to King James VI & I, who was nicknamed 'Patriarch of the Greeks' for helping Greeks to seek charity and study in Britain. Young had recommended Ioseph to the royal councillors in Edinburgh.



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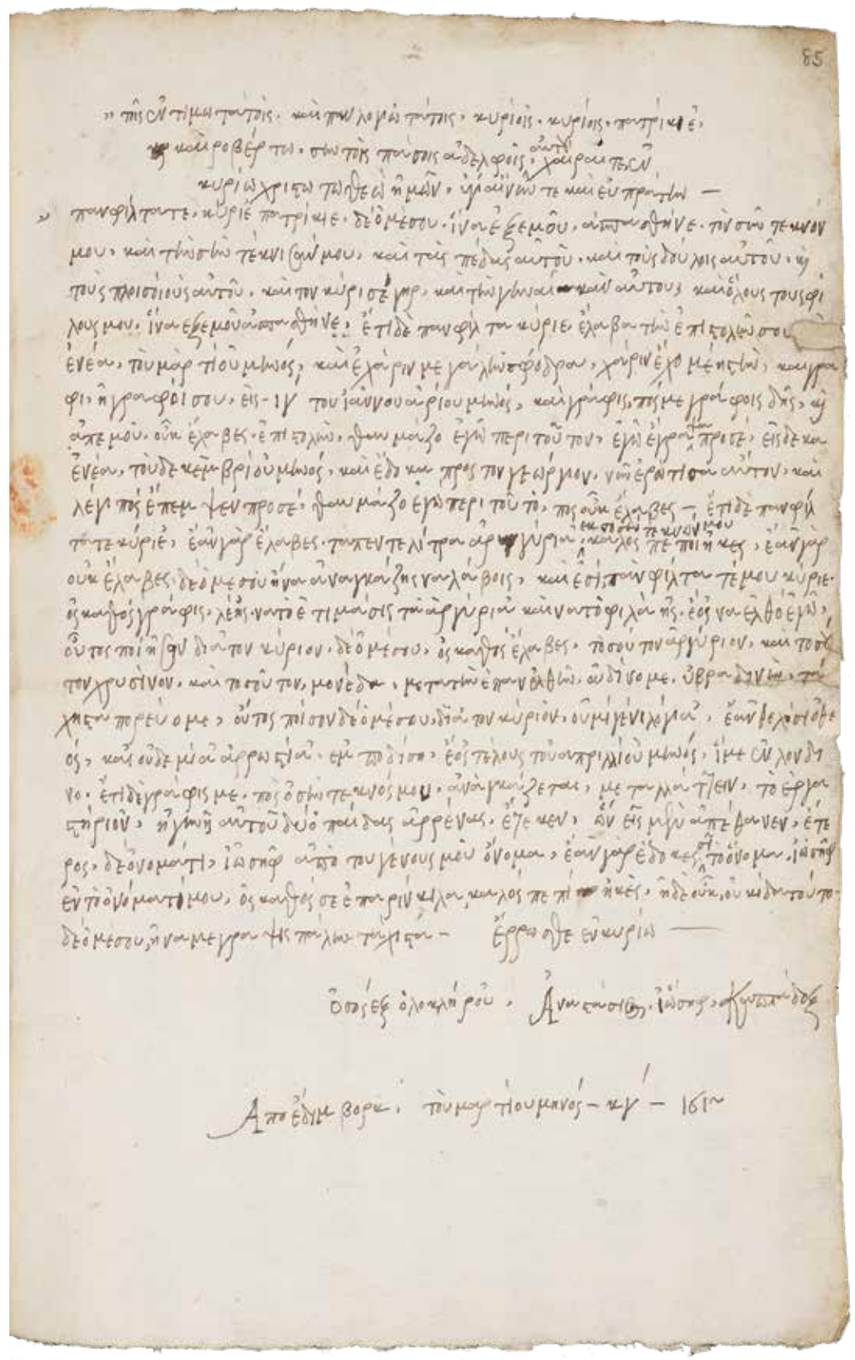
48.

49.
***The Life of Thomas M'Crie* (Edinburgh, 1840)**
Thomas M'Crie the Younger (1797–1875)
The University of Edinburgh, LRA.S.2603

Thomas M'Crie the Elder (1772–1835) advocated for the independence of Greece and the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean. He supported the Greek Revolution through philhellenic networks in Edinburgh and London, and spoke at the earliest pro-independence meeting in Britain, held in Edinburgh in 1822. M'Crie was concerned to counter the many prejudices against modern Greeks as compared with their idealized ancient predecessors.

50.
Greek Committee Circular (May 1823)
John Bowring (1792–1872)
University of Aberdeen Special Collections, MS 1160/21/1/31

1823 saw the establishment of the London Greek Committee, comprising a group of philhellenes who met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern on the Strand. Various Scots, including Byron, Gordon and M'Crie, were members. Gordon also convened a branch in Aberdeen. The committee raised money for the Greek cause, including negotiating two major loans for the Provisional Government of Greece in 1824 and 1825.

Finlay! it is enough for you to be here in Greece […] you will find on examination that few romances contain so many really romantic incidents as your own life. —
Lord Byron (Finlay, *Journal*, ed. Hussey, I.64)

51.
Mayor of Athens Announcing Election of Finlay as Provincial Councillor (1841)
Anargyros Petrakis (1793–1876)
Reproduced courtesy of the British School at Athens, George Finlay Personal Papers, FIN/GF/A21.C9

This certificate confirmed Finlay's election in December 1841 as one of three provincial councillors in Attica. Finlay had settled in the Hadrianou quarter of Athens after the Revolution. The letterhead shows Athena and the owl, classical symbols of Athens. The term 'dimarchia' (printed in Greek at the top), meaning 'office of mayor', was also derived from ancient terminology. The diploma is signed by Anargyros Petrakis, the mayor at the time.

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52.
Passport for Greece to Mr and Mrs George Finlay (1841)
Sir Edmund Lyons (1790–1858)
Reproduced courtesy of the British School at Athens, George Finlay Personal Papers, FIN/GF/A21.B6

This passport was issued by Sir Edmund Lyons (1790–1858), British minister (ambassador) to Greece, 1835–47. Mrs Finlay was Nectar Trevinian (d. 1892), an Armenian whom Finlay had married in Istanbul in 1834. The couple travelled to England, Scotland and France, visiting Edinburgh in September 1842.

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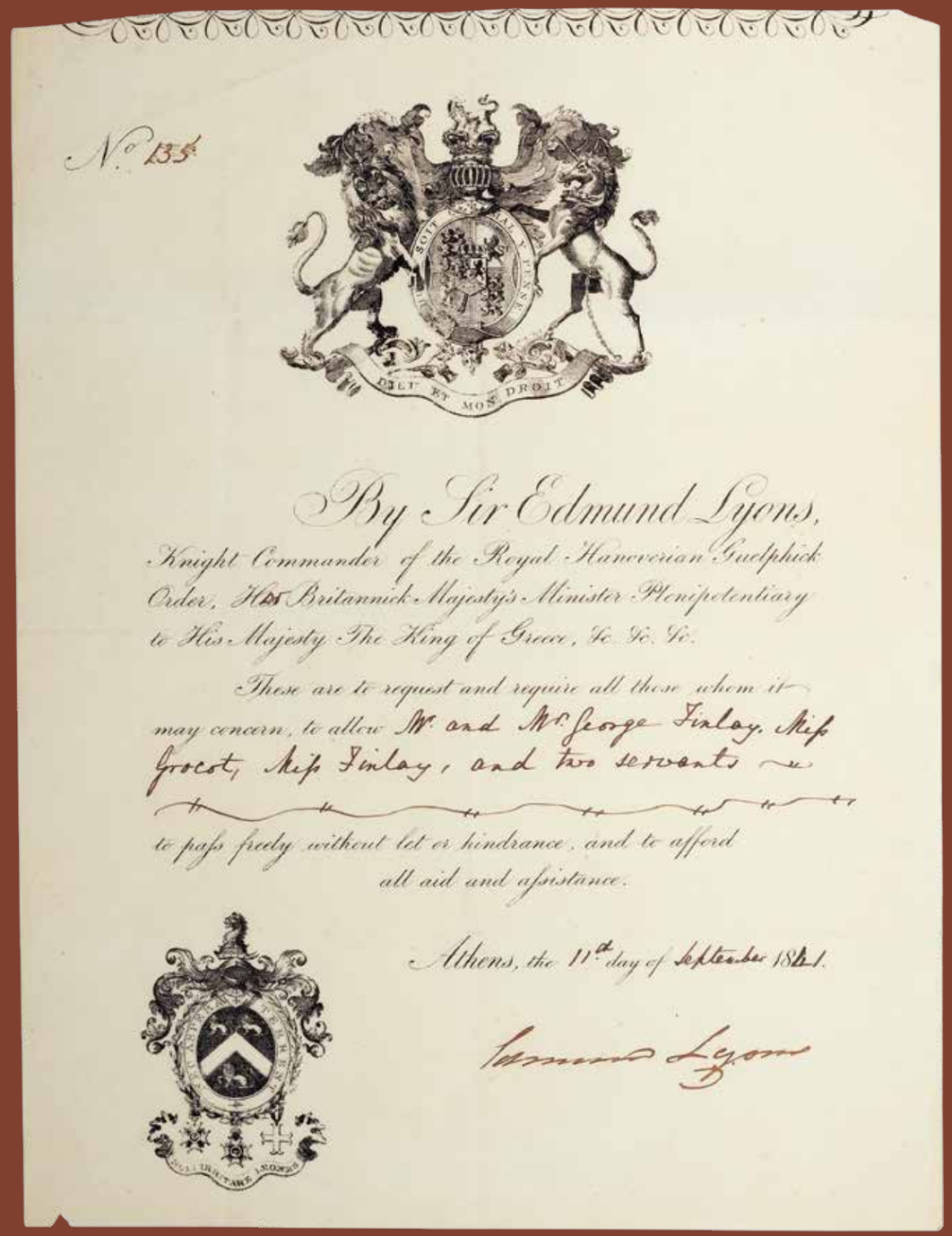
53.
Group Photograph with George Finlay (Back Right)
Reproduced courtesy of the British School at Athens, George Finlay Personal Papers, FIN/GF/A.20, Loose Photograph #3

Finlay is pictured in the back right of this photograph, white-haired and stern looking. The person at the front left is Alexandros Rizos Rangavis (1809–92), a founder of the Archaeological Society at Athens and its secretary from 1837–51. Rangavis was the son-in-law of the Aberdonian James Skene, whose painting of the plain of Athens is shown above. The leading Greek historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815–91) sits at the front right.

51.



No 135

DIEU ET MON DROIT

By Sir Edmund Lyons,

Knight Commander of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphick Order, Her Britannick Majestys Minister Plenipotentiary to His Majesty The King of Greece, &c. &c. &c.

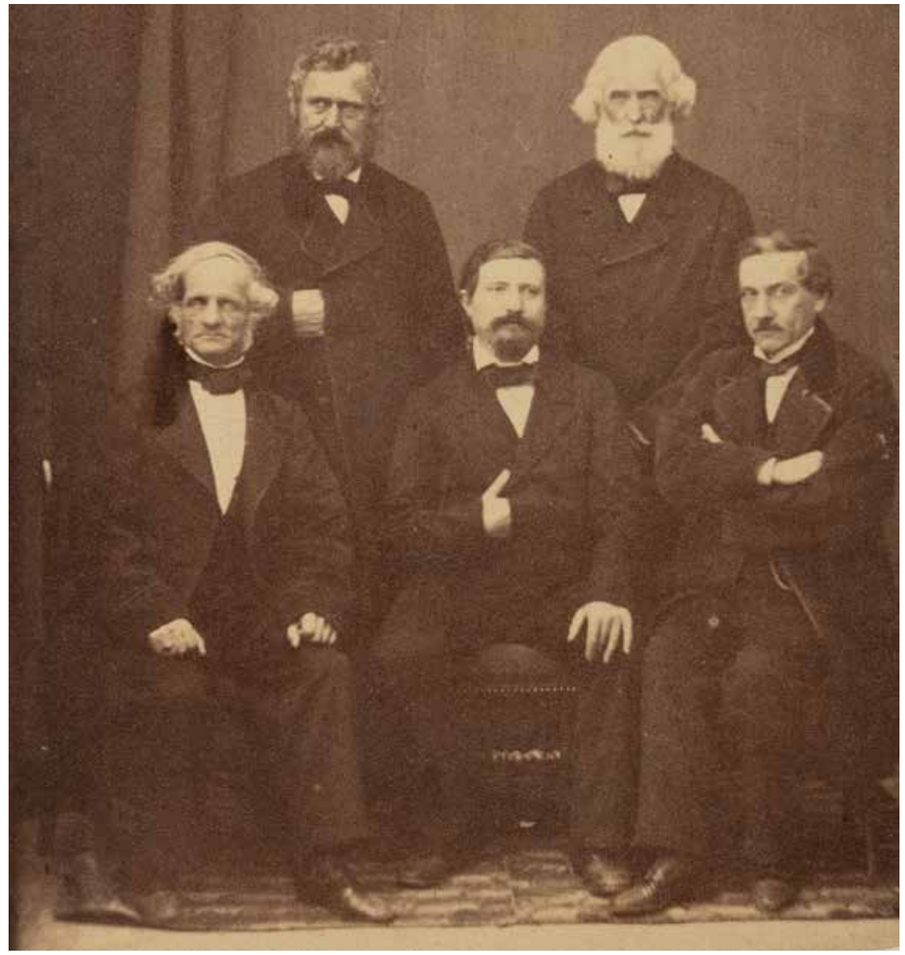
These are to request and require all those whom it may concern, to allow Mr and Mrs George Finlay, Miss Grocot, Miss Finlay, and two servants

to pass freely without let or hindrance, and to afford all aid and assistance.

Athens, the 11th day of September 1851.

Edmund Lyons

52.



53.

Page 58

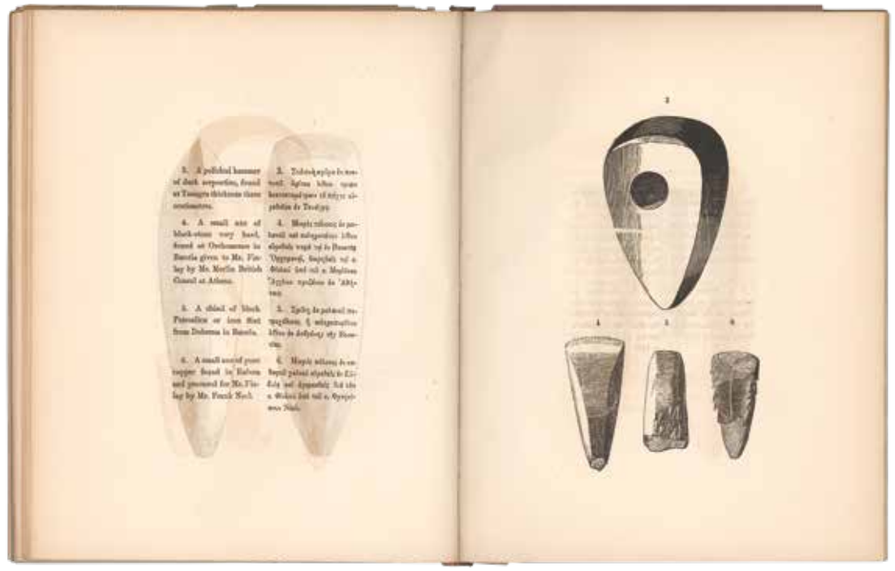
54.

Objects found in Greece in the Collection of George Finlay **(Athens, 1869)**

George Finlay (1799–1875)

Reproduced courtesy of the British School at Athens, George Finlay Personal Papers, FIN/GF/C8

This brochure forms part of Finlay's pioneering but little-known study of Greek prehistoric archaeology. His research was informed by objects that he had collected; a few of his stone artefacts are depicted here in accurate woodcut illustrations. He compared Greek with Swiss prehistoric material culture and argued for a shared prehistory of Europe.



54.

55.
***Description of Ancient Coins, from the Cabinet of Thomas Gordon* (Edinburgh, 1835)**
The University of Edinburgh, LRA.F.56

This brochure contains engravings of the coins in Gordon's collection, most of which were from ancient Greece. Gordon also owned a Phoenix (illustration No. 2), which was modern Greece's first currency. The Phoenix was introduced by Ioannis Kapodistrias in 1828 and was symbolic of the 'rebirth' of the nation through revolution.

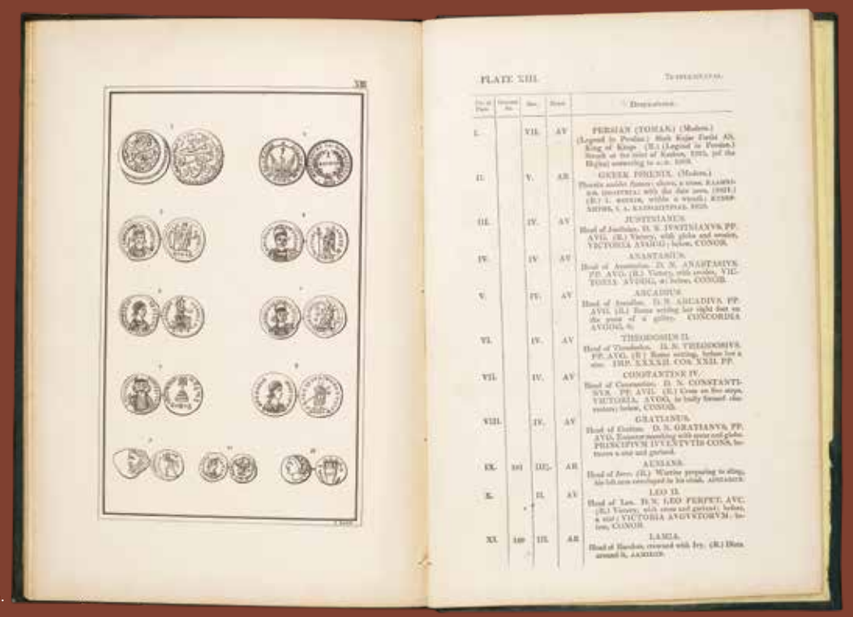
56.
Plan of Georgia Estate (1856)
Henry Haslam (active 19th century)
University of Aberdeen Special Collections, MS 1160/7/3

Thomas Gordon inherited great wealth from his father, Charles, including Georgia Estate in Jamaica. In 1835, Gordon obtained £5,296 18s 10d in compensation for the emancipation of 266 enslaved people following the Slavery Abolition Act (1833). Much of the considerable wealth that Gordon invested in the Greek cause came from the profits of slavery.

57.
***The Philhellenic Banner,* Vol. 1, No. 1 (London, 1853)**
Edward Masson (1800–1873)
The University of Edinburgh, Bl. Coll. 3.9/1

It is remarkable, however, that by far the greatest part of Britons who have displayed an ardent and persevering adherence to the cause of Greek independence, have been Scotchmen or Irishmen; that is, have been fervid Scots, ether of Albyn or Erin. (p. 46)

Looking back on the Revolution in the 1850s, Masson noted that Scots and Irish Protestants had played an especially active role in the movement for Greek independence. *The Philhellenic Banner* was one of various periodicals that Masson published, demonstrating that Scottish philhellenism lasted well beyond the successful outcome of the Revolution.



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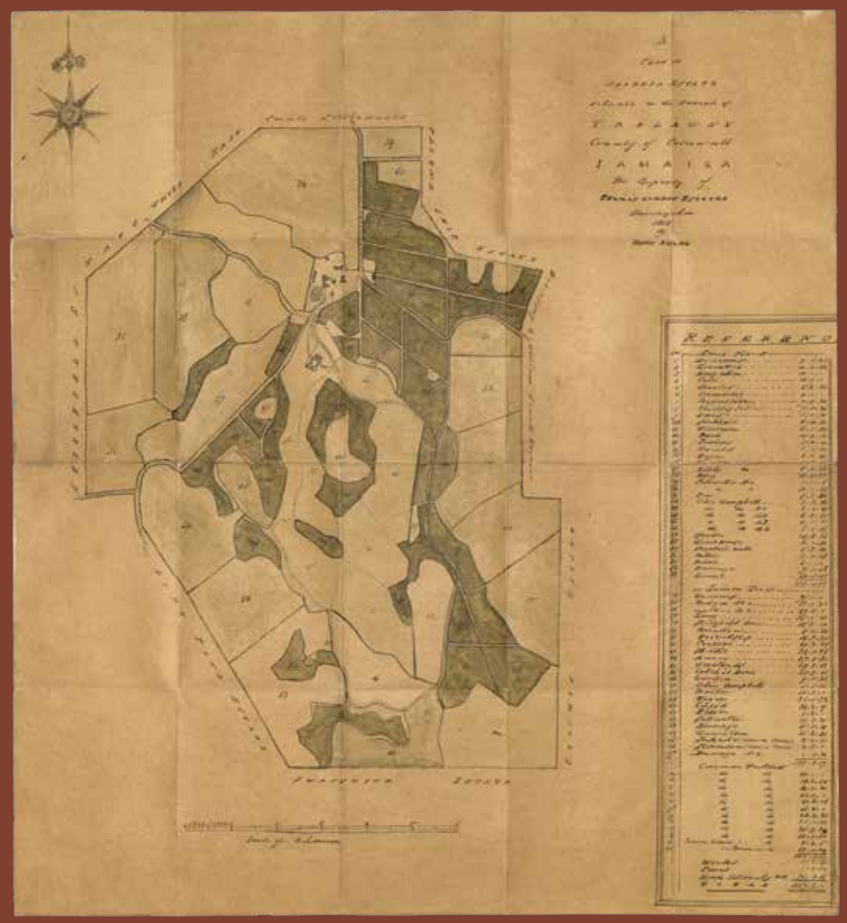

56.

CLASSICISTS AND CONNOISSEURS

In the northwestern European cultural sphere, classicists and connoisseurs proved the arbiters of taste and cultural priorities. Orientalist narratives of the purported 'degradation' of the Greek people under 'despotic' Ottoman rule were employed to justify the expropriation of classical antiquities to places where they would, so the argument went, be better appreciated (see, e.g., Nos. 47, 63, 68). Edinburgh's sobriquet, 'The Modern Athens', is testament to precisely this mentality that the modern Greeks were not the true successors to their ancient predecessors. Inter-imperial conflict between Britain and France added a further dimension to the antiquities race and formed the context for the removal of the Parthenon sculptures by Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin, from 1801. When John Cam Hobhouse, Byron's travelling companion, was visiting the Acropolis, he found graffiti on Elgin's new plaster wall in the Pandroseion, adjoining the Erechtheion (sometimes purported to have been etched by Byron himself), reading QUOD NON FECERUNT GOTI, HOC FECERUNT SCOTI: 'What the Goths did not do, the Scots have done' (Hobhouse, *Travels*, I.299). It is a powerful reminder of how controversial Elgin's actions were in his own time. While certainly the most infamous example of this trend, Elgin was, however, by no means alone. Thomas Gordon, to take but one other example, built up a collection at Cairness that included stelae and coins, the latter published in a brochure of engravings in 1835 (No. 55). His collection was largely dispersed at two auctions in 1850 and 1936, with some of the stelae entering the collections of the Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts, and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Paradoxically, Scots both perpetuated and challenged the prevailing narrative of the post-classical 'debasement' of the Greek people and their culture. In 1853, John Stuart Blackie, the University of Edinburgh's newly appointed professor of Greek (see No. 70), delivered a lecture 'On the Living Language of the Greeks'. It contained a radical new agenda for a very different type of Greek teaching that would replace dry grammatical drilling and Erasmian pronunciation with a conversational method in line with the actual usages of the contemporary Greek state. 'Have a respect for Marathon; but remember also Messalonghi', he admonished; 'Honour Thucydides by all means, and luxuriate in Herodotus; but be ashamed to be ignorant of Tricoupi' – i.e., Spyridon Trikoupis, the Greek historian of the Revolution (pp. 22–3). Blackie spoke these words fresh from a visit to Athens, where he had spent time in the company of his countryman George Finlay, whose *opus magnum*, then in progress, would comprise a seven-volume history of Greece's much neglected post-classical periods. This Scottish interest in medieval and modern Greece flourished in spite of – or perhaps rather precisely because of – the relatively low standard of Hellenic education at Scottish universities as compared with that at English or German universities at the time. As Finlay remarked, 'The value of the study of the classics to form or improve the mind was [in late Byzantium], as it is now, very much overrated. Experience shows that it is almost as likely to produce learned pedants as accomplished scholars' (*History*, ed. Tozer, III.283). Both he and Blackie had become imbued with rigorous scholarly standards while students in Germany (see No. 71), but the eye that they shared to the 'bigger picture' was a distinct product of their early days at Scottish universities and what George Elder Davie, in his influential study of 1961, memorably termed the 'democratic intellect'.

A.G.

CLASSICISTS AND CONNOISSEURS

The publication of books on the buildings, art and landscapes of the ancient Greek world increased in the late 18th century. Scholarship was promoted by groups of connoisseurs such as the Society of Dilettanti and the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

Below
58.
***The Antiquities of Athens Measured and Delineated*, Vol. 1, 'General View of Athens' (London, 1762)**
James Stuart (1713–88)
and Nicholas Revett (1720–1804)
The University of Edinburgh, RECA.FF.371

This imposing engraving of Athens and its surroundings opens Stuart and Revett's famous *Antiquities of Athens*. The combination of precisely drawn ruins and scenes of everyday life characterizes the whole work. Despite containing meticulous drawings and minutely precise measurements, the work was really intended as a guide for the tastes of connoisseurs rather than as a manual for practising architects. Its publication brought the city's antiquities to a larger English-speaking audience than ever before.

59.
Stuart's Ancient Edifices in Pola, Athens, etc. (1750)
James Stuart (1713–88)
The University of Edinburgh, La.III.581

These drawings of medals from the ancient towns of Megara and Eleusis belong to the many sketches and notes made by James 'Athenian' Stuart over two-and-a-half years of fieldwork. The publication of *Antiquities of Athens* from Stuart and Revett's notes proceeded extremely slowly: only one of its five volumes was published in Stuart's lifetime, and three before Revett's death.

60.
Plan des Environs d'Athènes ('Map of the Vicinity of Athens')
Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (1716–95)
Private collection

This map of ancient Athens, the Piraeus (its port) and the 'Long Walls' between them comes from a forgotten bestseller, Barthélemy's *Travels of the Young Anacharsis in Greece*. First published in 1788, this multi-volume work was translated into various European languages – including Modern Greek – and continuously reprinted for decades. The fictional hero, Anacharsis, acted as a tour guide with whom armchair connoisseurs could explore Barthélemy's romantic vision of ancient Greece.

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61.
***Description of the Plain of Troy: With a Map of that Region, Delineated from an Actual Survey* (Edinburgh, 1791)**
Jean-Baptiste Le Chevalier (1752–1836), edited and translated by Andrew Dalzel (1742–1806)
The University of Edinburgh, D.S.i.13.21/1

The prominence of Homer and the story of the Trojan War led various antiquarians to search for the site of Troy. One of these was the French archaeologist and astronomer, Le Chevalier, who presented his findings to the Royal Society of Edinburgh during a six-month stay in the city. Andrew Dalzel, professor of Greek at the University of Edinburgh, prepared an English translation of Le Chevalier's French text for publication.

Thomas Bruce, 7th Earl of Elgin (1766–1841), served as Britain's ambassador to Constantinople from 1799 to 1803. In 1801, he exploited Britain's favour with the Ottomans and used his private fortune to secure a decree, the authenticity and validity of which have been long disputed. On the basis of this, he detached and removed parts of various ancient buildings in Athens, in particular the Parthenon. The Parthenon sculptures, or 'Elgin Marbles', were subsequently bought by the British government for a fraction of the money Elgin had spent, and have since been on display in the British Museum in London. Elgin's actions have provoked controversy since his own time. The sculptures' restitution to Greece, where they would be housed in the Acropolis Museum (opened 2009), has been repeatedly requested but so far denied.

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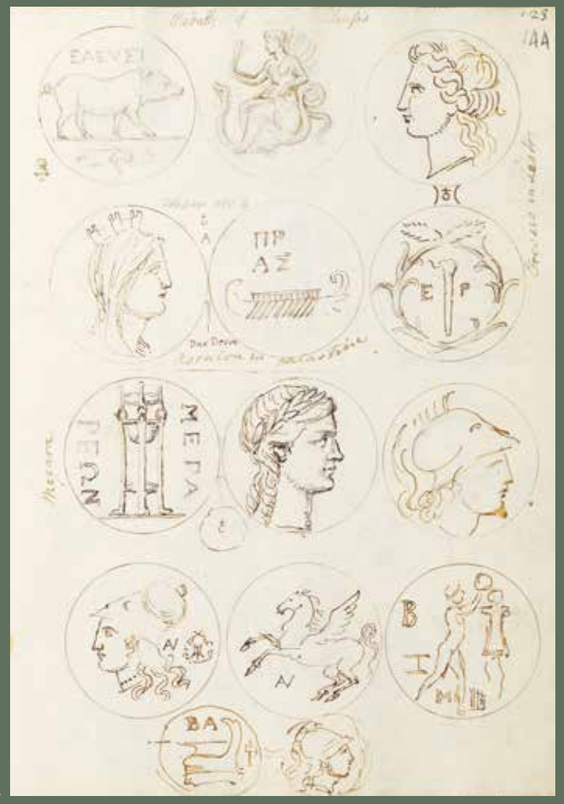
62.
***The Antiquities of Athens Measured and Delineated*, Vol. 2 'View of the Eastern Portico of the Parthenon' (London, 1787)**
James Stuart (1713–88)
and Nicholas Revett (1721–1804)
The University of Edinburgh, RECA.FF.372

This engraving depicts the Parthenon in the 18th century. In the Byzantine period, it served as a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary; under the Ottomans, it became a mosque. The exterior remained in place until Venetian attackers fired a mortar against it in 1687; the Ottomans stored gunpowder in the building and the explosion destroyed the roof. The small mosque seen in the engraving was constructed inside the semi-ruinous remains.

59.



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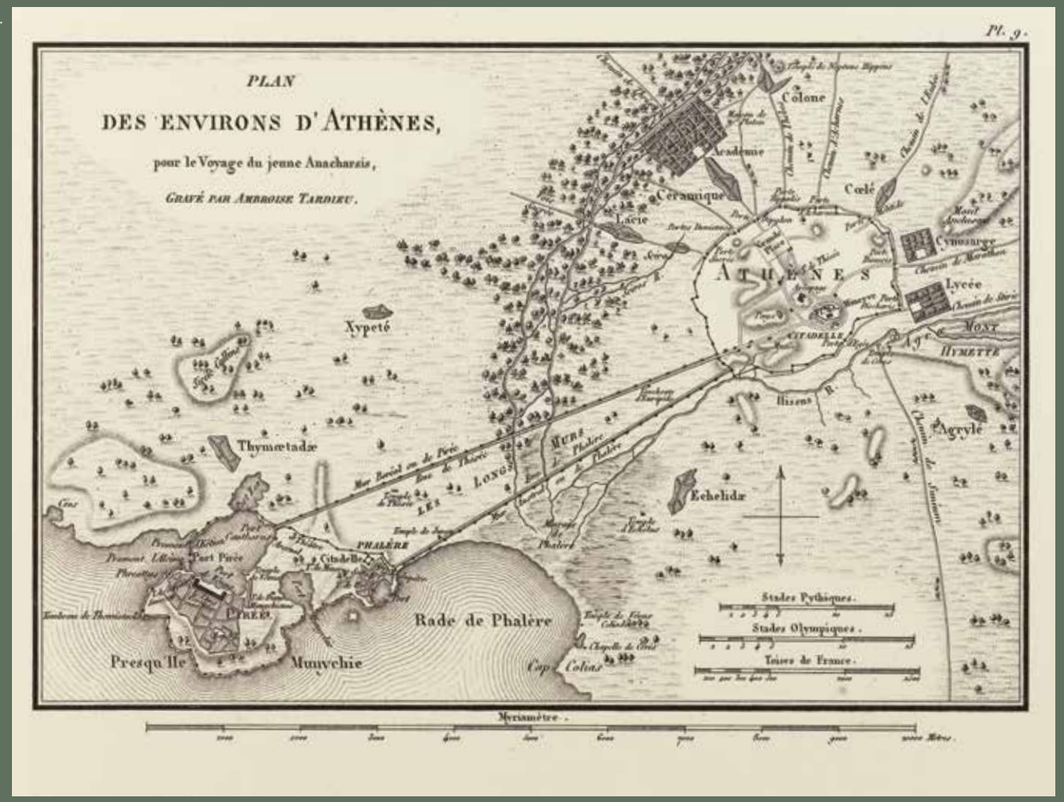

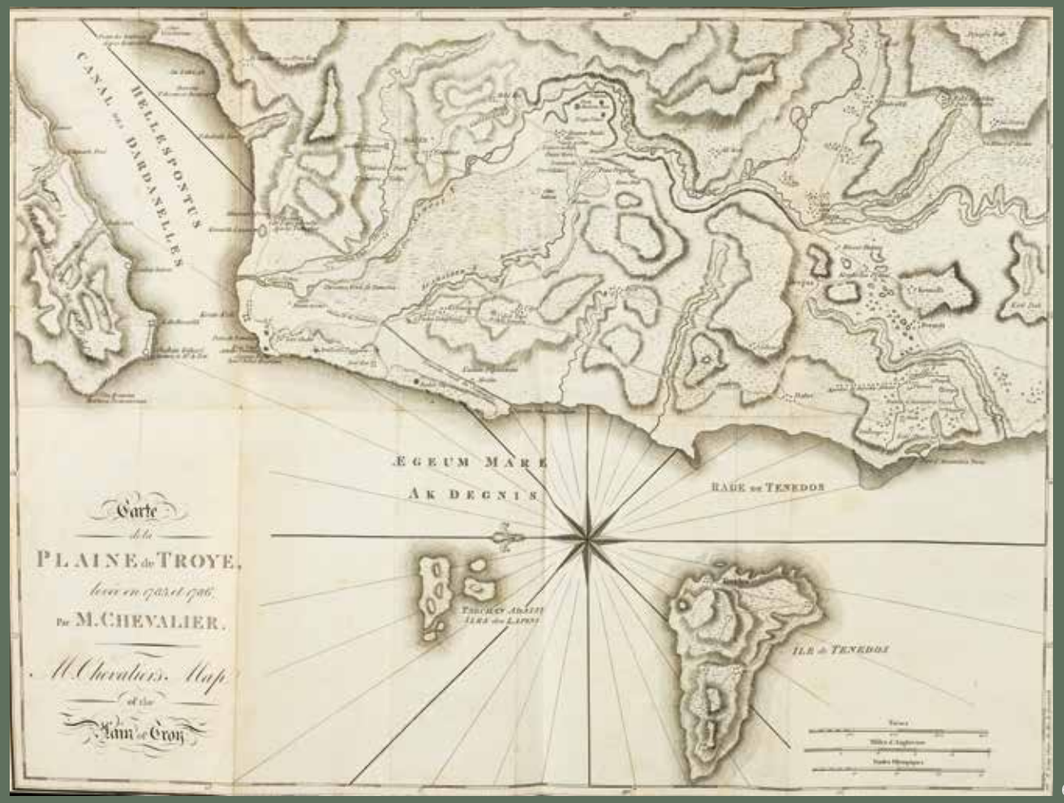

61.

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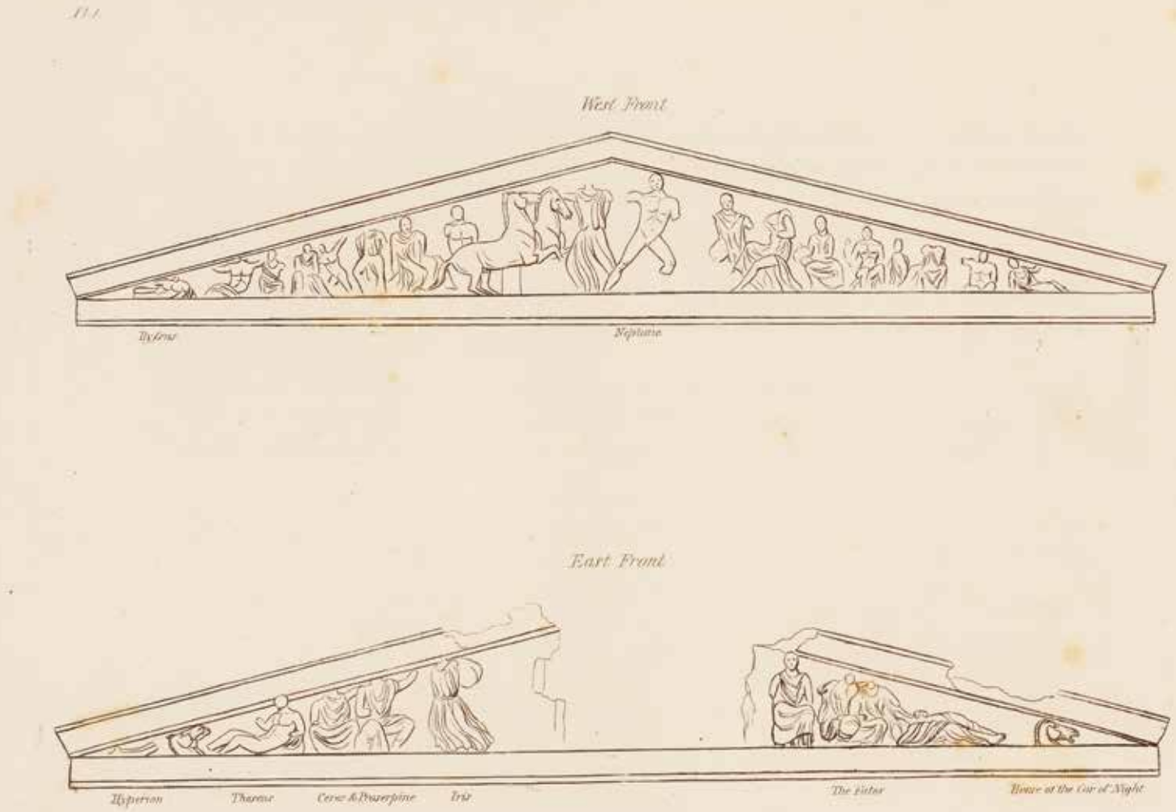
63.
***Elgin Marbles from the Parthenon at Athens: Exemplified by Fifty Etchings* (London, 1818)**
Richard Lawrence (active 1792–1818)
The University of Edinburgh, *Q.16.32

[The marbles] have not only found a refuge from barbarian hands, but are brought within the view of thousands who are thus enabled to appreciate their superlative excellence ... (p. 25)

Common justifications for the removal of the Parthenon sculptures to Britain were that they would be both more vulnerable if left *in situ* and better appreciated in their new location. Such justifications, persisting in various forms to the present day, are now increasingly seen as reflections of prejudices towards both the Ottomans and the Greeks themselves.

64.
***Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Earl of Elgin's Collection of Sculptured Marbles; &c.* (London, 1816)**
The University of Edinburgh, V.18.69

When the question of the Parthenon marbles came before a parliamentary committee in 1816, the priority was to establish whether the marbles 'should be purchased on behalf of The Public, and if so, [at] what price' (p. 1). The public criticism of Elgin's actions also made it necessary to ascertain whether the removal of the marbles had exceeded the permission granted by the Ottoman authorities. The committee exonerated Elgin, but its verdict cannot provide a conclusive answer to the question of where the sculptures should be housed today.

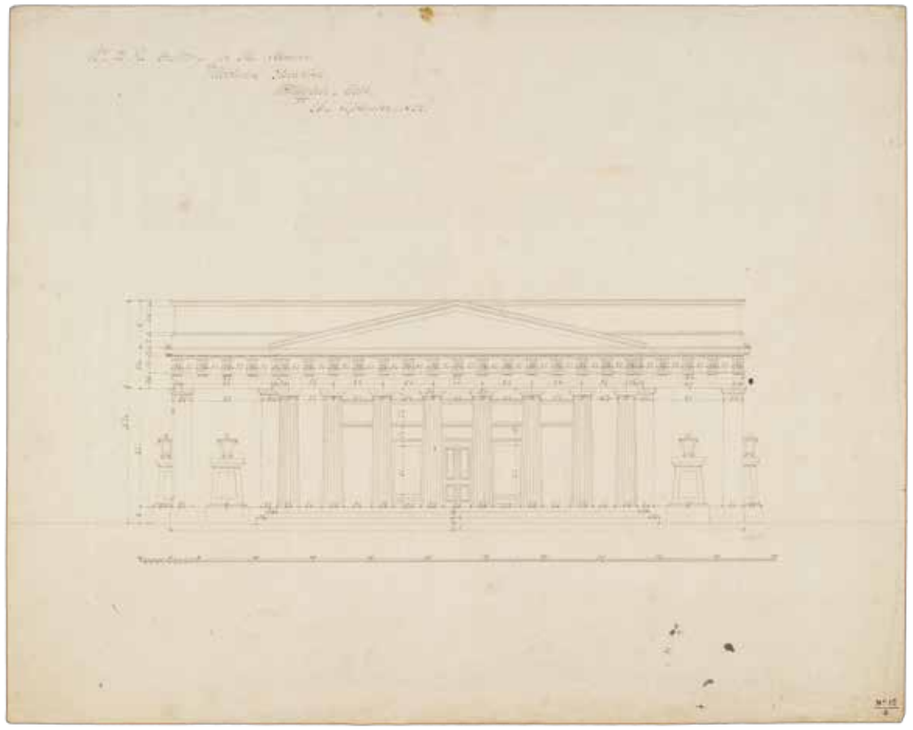


65.
The Building for the Societies [Royal Institution], Northern Elevation (1822)
William Henry Playfair (1790–1857)
The University of Edinburgh, 1071

In 1822, Playfair produced designs for a building to accommodate the Academy of the Board of Trustees of Manufactures and Fisheries, the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Society of Antiquaries and the Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts. A key role of the Royal Institution building on the Mound (today the Royal Scottish Academy) was the display of a series of casts of the Parthenon's marble sculpture. These casts were displayed at height to replicate their original situation in Athens, in contrast to the British Museum where the Parthenon frieze is displayed at eye level. These casts are today in the sculpture court of the Edinburgh College of Art. Playfair's Doric colonnades give the building's exterior a thoroughly Athenian appearance.

66.
Warrior Tying Sandal, West Parthenon Frieze (VI.12)
19th-century cast of a 5th-century BC original
Plaster cast
The University of Edinburgh, Cast 33

This cast shows a half-naked warrior, dressed in a cloak, bending over a rock to fasten his sandal. He belongs to a procession of cavalrymen depicted on the west Parthenon frieze. This cast is part of a collection historically used for teaching Classical Archaeology at the university. The casts are now displayed around the School of History, Classics & Archaeology on Teviot Place.



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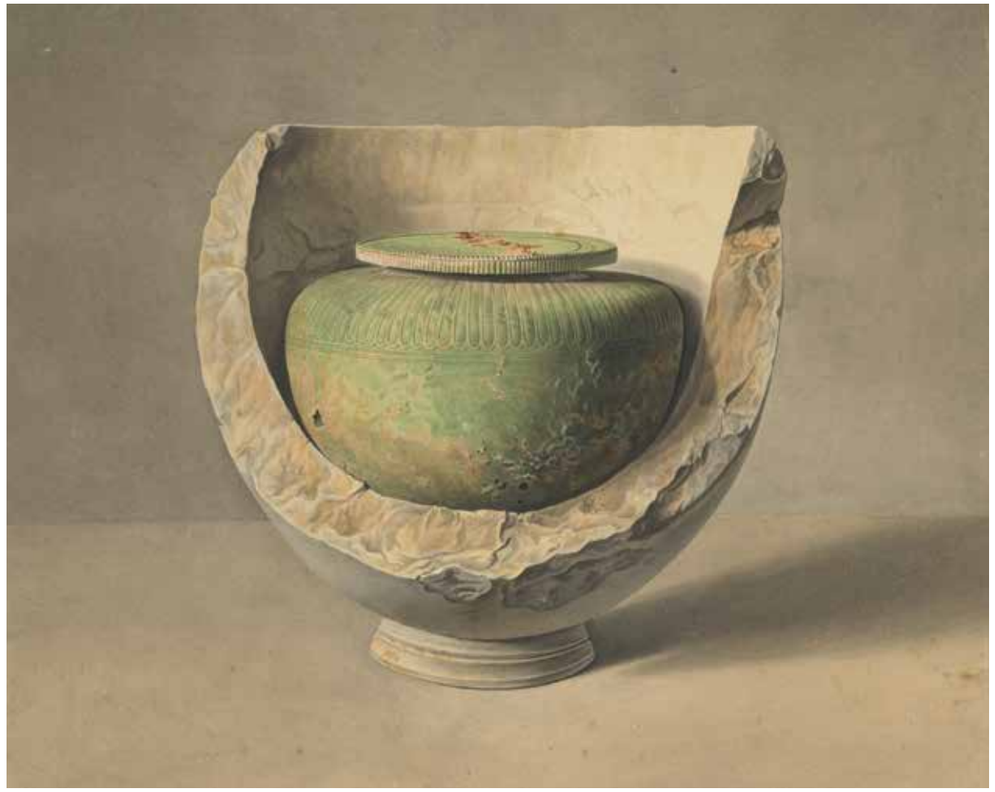

67.

67.
A Greek Double Urn (about 1804)
Giovanni Battista Lusieri (1755–1821)
Watercolour over pencil on paper
National Galleries of Scotland, D NG 711

This exquisite watercolour depicts an ancient bronze urn, containing cremated bones, surrounded by a broken marble urn. This object was discovered while excavating a burial mound near Athens in 1804. Part of the 'Elgin Marbles', it is now at the British Museum. Despite spending two decades in Greece as Elgin's artist, Lusieri completed just three watercolours there. This example was acquired by Mary Hamilton Campbell, Lady Ruthven (1789–1885), who visited Athens from 1818–20 with her husband James.

68.
Journal of Lady Henrietta Liston, of Travels from Constantinople to Naples (1815)
Henrietta Marchant Liston (1751–1828)
Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland, MS.5710

I do not pretend to enumerate the various beautities (sic) of the Acropolis nor to point out those of the City of a people, whose enterprise, taste, & genius, can only be equalled by the degeneracy of the present race of Greeks, calling themselves their Descendants. (f. 5v)

In her journal for 1815, the diarist and botanist Henrietta Liston records a busy visit to Athens guided by Lusieri. She was travelling from Constantinople where her husband, Robert, was British ambassador. Liston was impressed by the classical remains but scornful towards contemporary Greeks. She was equally hostile towards Elgin, lamenting that his 'patriesm or selfishism' (sic; ibid.) had damaged the antiquities.

68. **Henrietta Marchant Liston (Mrs. Robert Liston) (1800)**
Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828)
Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington

69.
***Report of the Proceedings at a Public Meeting Held in the Assembly Rooms, Edinburgh, the 9th April, 1825: With a View of Forming a Scottish Ladies Society for Promoting Education in Greece* (Edinburgh, 1825)**
The University of Edinburgh, C.R.17.4.9/7

On 9th April 1825, hundreds of people attended a meeting at Edinburgh's Assembly Rooms to launch a Scottish Ladies Society for Promoting Education, Especially That of Females in Greece. The scheme's initiator was the philanthropist Agnes Renton (1781–1863), but men dominated the meeting. Its aim was to repay Britain's debt to classical Greece by contributing teachers to educate its women especially. A few teachers were sent to the Ionian Islands, then a British protectorate, but the society was short-lived.

70.
***Testimonials in Favour of John Stuart Blackie, Esq.* (Edinburgh, 1851)**
John Stuart Blackie (1809–1895)
The University of Edinburgh, N*.26.60/1

Both Edward Masson and John Stuart Blackie applied for the professorship of Greek at Edinburgh in 1851, and each wrote a testimonial on behalf of the other. Blackie was the successful candidate, and a number of his books, bequeathed to the university, are included in this exhibition, identifiable by their 'Bl. Coll.' references. Masson and Blackie agreed that Greek should be taught as a living language with modern pronunciation. As someone who had taught and worked as an attorney in Greece, Masson had no trouble writing this testimonial in the language.

71.
Certificate Given to John Stuart Blackie as a Student of the University of Göttingen (1829)
Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland, Ch.947

After studies at Aberdeen and Edinburgh, Blackie travelled to Germany and studied at the University of Göttingen in the Kingdom of Hanover, then, like Britain, under the house of Hanover. German language and literature meant a great deal to Blackie, who devoted as much of his energy to Goethe as to Homer. He shared this interest in German with George Finlay, who had also studied for a time at Göttingen. The two men corresponded.

72.
Sketchbook of John Stuart Blackie (Italy, 1831)
Reproduced by permission of the National Library of Scotland, MS.2657

This characterful sketch by Blackie appears to show him flying away from a charmed visit to Rome. His wide-brimmed hat is unmistakable. Blackie travelled to Italy after his studies in Germany; he did not visit Greece until 1853, when George Finlay was one of his hosts.

Antiquity was idealized and reimagined by connoisseurs trained in ancient Greek art, architecture, language and literature. In Athens and Edinburgh, the Acropolis and Calton Hill were then and remain today the most iconic expressions of these ideals.

In 1834, Athens became the capital of the new Greek kingdom. The previously small town was developed into a city of boulevards to accommodate its new role. The German architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel put forward an ambitious proposal for a royal palace to be built on the Acropolis. Given the Acropolis's iconic classical architecture and lack of drinking water, the palace would never be constructed.

The National Monument of Scotland on Calton Hill commemorates Scots who were killed in action against Napoleon's armies. The project was placed in the care of an uneasy partnership between the architects Charles Robert Cockerell and William Henry Playfair. Modelled on the Parthenon on the Acropolis of Athens (but planned without a reproduction of its frieze), it was intended to confirm Edinburgh's status as the 'Athens of the North'. Unfinished to this day, its incompleteness has earned it the nickname 'Scotland's disgrace'.

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73.
Perspective of the Principal View of the Royal Palace on the Acropolis: Section through Line A.B. on the Ground Plan Looking West (1840)
Karl Schnechten (active 19th century)
after Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841)
Colour lithograph on paper
National Galleries of Scotland, P 2910.1

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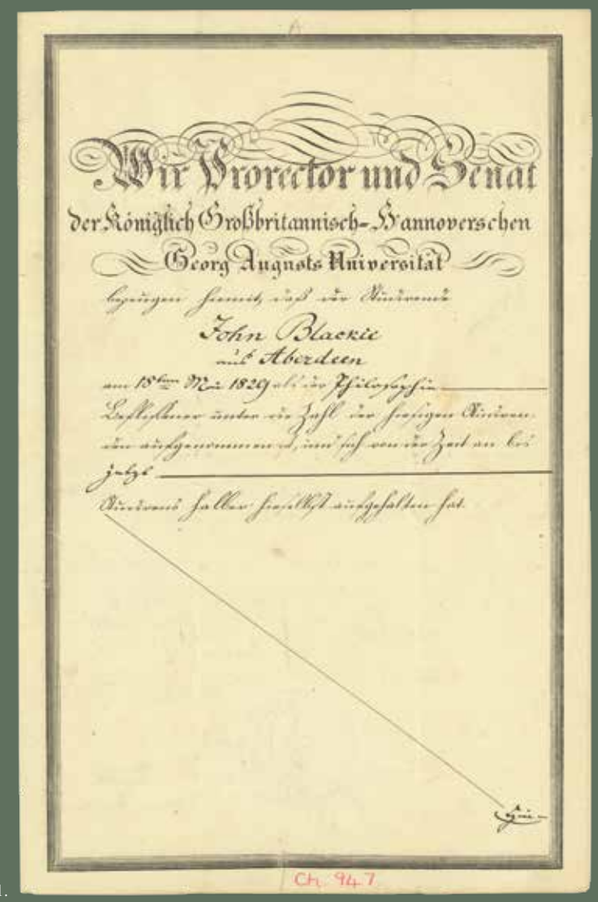
74.
Proposed National Memorial, Calton Hill, Edinburgh – Longitudinal Section (1825)
Charles Robert Cockerell (1788–1863)
Royal Scottish Academy of Art & Architecture, 1994.061

Rear Cover
75.
Edina Reflecting the Glory of Athena (2020)
Alexander Stoddart (1959–)
Plaster cast
The University of Edinburgh (Artist's gift)

This relief portrays Athens on the right in the guise of its patron, Athena, armed with shield, spear, and helmet. Edinburgh is represented on the left by 'Edina', Athena's counterpart, who holds up a mirror to suggest her reflection of ancient Athens's glory. These two figures have lent their names to this exhibition. This is a cast of the relief from Dr Stoddart's statue (2016) of the Greek Revival architect William Henry Playfair, on Chambers Street in Edinburgh.



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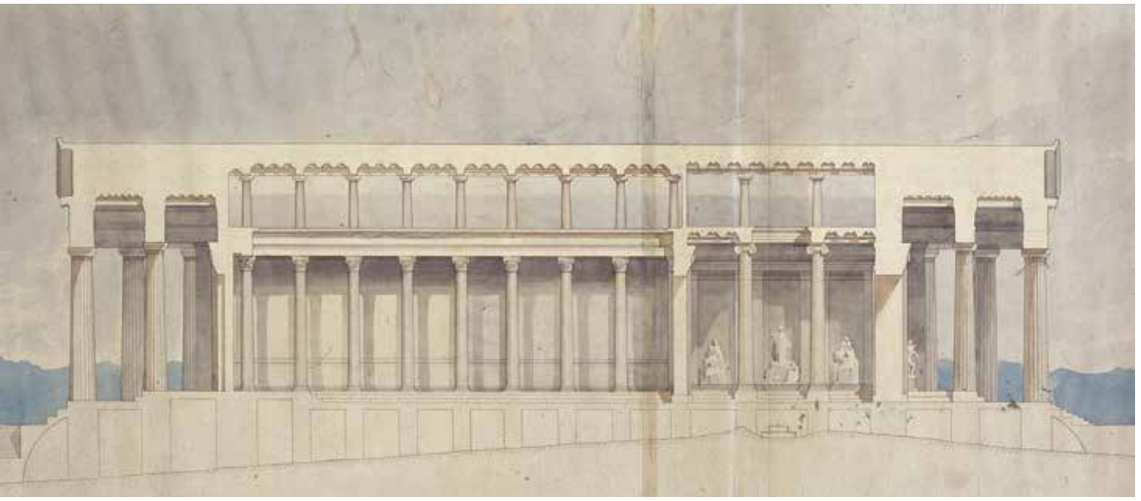


74.

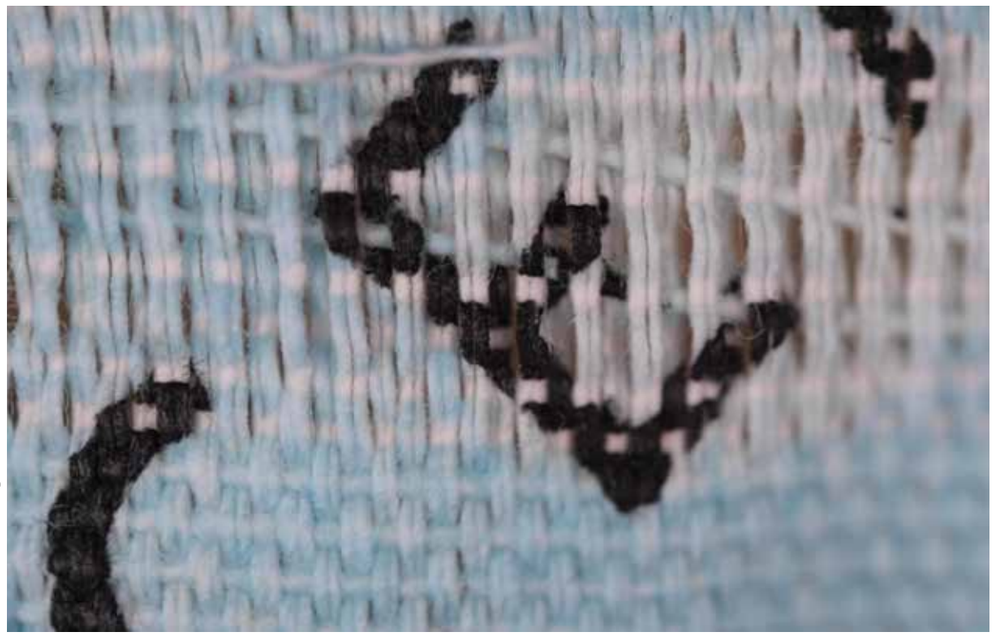
PARATAXIS: A TWO-PART ARTWORK

by Karen Cunningham

The Centre for Research Collections and the A. G. Leventis Foundation have generously funded the commissioning of a contemporary artwork as a component of this exhibition. Following the University's commissioning guidelines, three artists were invited to propose works engaging with the exhibition's themes. The chosen artwork, Karen Cunningham's two-part work 'Parataxis', foregrounds the often-unseen experiences and contributions of female figures in relation to the Greek Revolution and Enlightenment-era Edinburgh.

'Parataxis' comprises two distinct yet interdependent artworks: a limited edition printed textile entitled 'Revolution is a Living Language', and the moving image work 'Looking and Being Overlooked', which shows the fabric being un-done, pulled apart thread-by-thread, referencing, amongst other ideas, Penelope's weaving and un-doing of the shroud in Homer's epic poem 'The Odyssey'.

Karen Cunningham



'Revolution in the history of the West is not confined to modern times.
In theory as well as in fact, revolution is half the fabric of our culture.'
Geoffrey Morrison, *The Greek Origins of the Idea of Revolution* (Amherst, 1983)

My exhibit's title employs the Greek term *Parataxis* ('para': beside; taxis: an arrangement). The constituent artworks take up ideas of revolution, image making and weaving in relation to specific cultures and histories through conceptual and physical processes of pulling (or putting) together and theoretical and material acts of undoing.

The printed textile 'Revolution is a living language' visualizes overlooked or under-represented female experiences relative to the Greek Revolution and the Enlightenment in Edinburgh and brings them into assembly. The moving image work 'Looking and being overlooked' shows this textile and the images within it being undone. These works foster a dialogue between notions of political revolution, historic interconnectivity and social rebellion in which movements such as Greek independence and the Enlightenment can be read not as discrete enclosed occurrences, but as events woven into the fabric of a time of immense social, political and scientific transformation.

These works depict real-life women including 'The Edinburgh Seven'. Named after the ancient Greek play *Seven against Thebes*, these women (Mary Anderson, Emily Bovell, Matilda Chaplin, Helen Evans, Sophia Jex-Blake, Edith Pechey, and Isabel Thorne) fought to study Medicine at the University of Edinburgh and in 1896 were the first matriculated female students at any British University. In 1877, legislation was introduced to ensure that women could study at British universities, but the seven women were prevented from graduating and qualifying as doctors due to protest from some staff and male peers. In 2019, some 150 years after their enrolment, the seven women were all awarded posthumous honorary Bachelor of Medicine degrees by the University of Edinburgh.

Manifest as an interdisciplinary artwork, Parataxis operates equally through conceptual and aesthetic registers, suggesting ways to think about relationships between mechanical production, technology, mass reproduction and the handmade—for instance, how both woven fabric and the printed image relate to cultural and technological (especially industrial) revolutions.

For art historian Julia Bryan-Wilson, textiles (understood as encompassing all woven forms, whether made for domestic or commercial use, for garments, flags, banners or sails) incorporate the notion of the body; a body which can be constituted as physical, social, or political (*Fray*, 2017). Furthermore, as Elizabeth J. W. Barber, a scholar of ancient and contemporary linguistics and textiles, has observed, stories of real and mythical events have historically been told through textiles (*Women's Work*, 1996). As functional things or conceptual devices, these assemblages of fibres and images have operated as another form of language when writing or speech is either inaccessible or denied.

This is explored within the work through transformative acts of undoing and by a consideration of the idea of the marginal as an overlooked figure or a place; a site through which transformation and revolution occurs. Un-doing operates within this artwork, and my practice at large, as a conceptual and physical process, which reveals the constituent parts of an object or material whilst enabling new ways to engage with images and ideas.

K.C.

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